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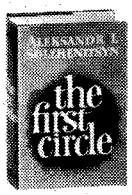

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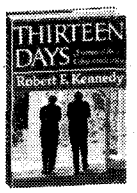

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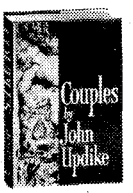

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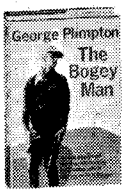

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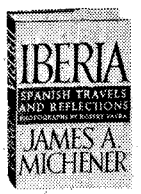

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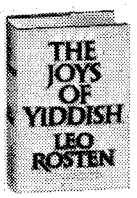

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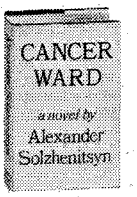

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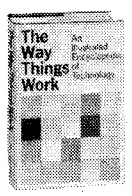

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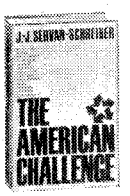

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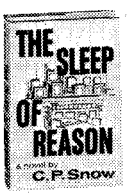

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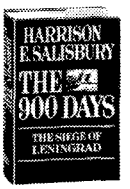

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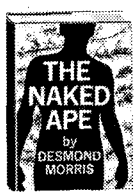

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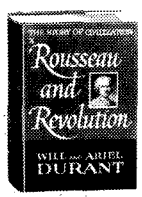

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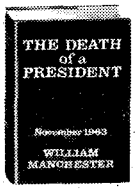

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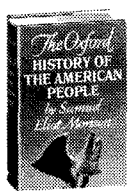

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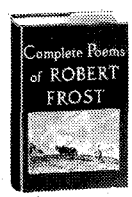

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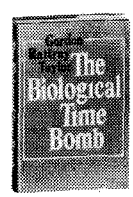

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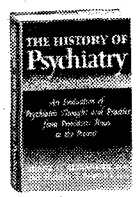

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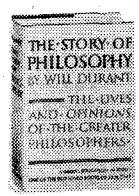

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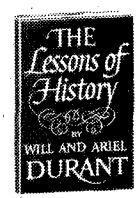

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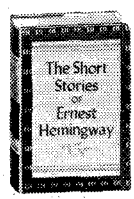

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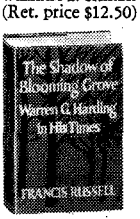

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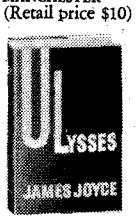

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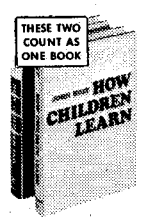

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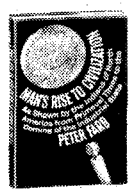

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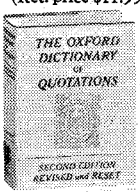

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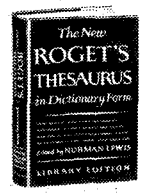

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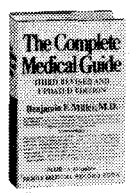

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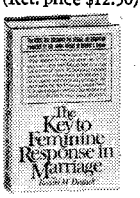

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TRB

From Washington

Where the Money Goes

Here's an item from the business section of the *NY Times* telling of the big profits agencies are making in advertising cat foods. And here's an item in the *Economist* (London) quoting an American doctor at the Senate hunger hearing saying that 800 calories a day isn't enough to support a destitute child in the Delta and maybe not enough to support his worms.

Pets or people – it's a way of saying that poverty and the disparity of income in the United States is the nation's biggest problem bar none. Something has to be done about it.

"We spend as much for chewing gum as for model cities," Howard J. Samuels, Under Secretary of Commerce under Johnson, once observed. "We spend as much on hair dye as for grants to urban mass transport. We spend as much on tobacco as government at all levels spends on higher education. We spend more on pet food than on food stamps for the poor."

America is not putting enough of its fabulous wealth where it should go; its priorities are confused. The economic problem is no longer how to create wealth; it's how to distribute it more reasonably.

Most other countries have some formal system of governmental income supplements and the US is zigzagging in that direction too and must inevitably ultimately come to it, but at present we still have a welfare hodgepodge based on charity. For example, one out of every five children in New York City currently receives public assistance. But wouldn't it be better to consolidate the system, as every other modern nation does, into a generalized children's allowance? The United States is alone in having no such system. The trail-blazing Friends (Quakers) Committee on National Income declares "that a federal system of assuring income is morally right, necessary and economically desirable." Some other churches agree. It is to be hoped that the push increases.

America's income is huge but it is dangerously unbalanced in distribution. The five percent at the top get 20 percent, the 20 percent at the bottom get about five percent. If you visualize it, it is something like an elongated diamond, wide in the middle but stretched out at either end to the richest and poorest. A society is far more stable where it is like a pyramid with a broad flat base (below which incomes would not be allowed to sink) and with a rise at the top giving adequate incentives to the acquisitive, the aggressive and the industrious.

If you think these are dangerously socialistic thoughts you have forgotten that back in 1967 Mr. Johnson appointed a 20-man Presidential Commission on Income Maintenance under Ben Heineman, president of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, to explore "every aspect" of income maintenance. We don't know what it will report next September but we do know it is looking into children's allowances, negative income tax, government job guarantees (advocated by Bobby Kennedy) and what Mr. Johnson called all "varieties of minimum income guarantees." He referred to the study again just before leaving office. "Income support programs," he wrote in his January economic report, "need a thorough review" and added, "Americans will soon have to decide how best to help those who cannot earn enough to escape from poverty."

In an excellent essay, *Time* magazine last December said, "An income supplement would not cure the illness of American cities, but the illness may not be curable without it." It added, "The US spends less proportionately on social welfare than almost any other industrial country."

Not for the Poor

Some of our economies are shocking. In the peevish fit of parsimony in 1967, Congress voted to freeze Aid for Dependent Children (for which Washington makes matching grants to the states) at certain percentages. The freeze was originally set for July 1, 1968, but when the time came Congress postponed it to July 1 this year. Unless postponed again or repealed by Congress (which has just increased its own salary 40 percent) an estimated one million children will be thrust back from federal aid upon the uncertain mercies of 50 states – some unsympathetic, all broke. "A major step backward," said the Council of Economic Advisers in its annual report this year. It called "repeal of the AFDC freeze the most urgently required step toward a more humane and rational welfare system."

What will the Nixon Administration do about poverty? The most steady, consistent theme in the Nixon candidacy last year was that of enlisting "individual initiative and private enterprise" to aid the cities. He spelled this out as a system of providing "tax credits" and "special tax incentives" to business. The government lacks money "to do the job in the cities by itself"; but don't despair, he added smugly – "most of these tasks can be done *better* through government encouragement of private energies."

Personally we don't think it will work. It sounds jolly and romantic, of course, and we are all for private enterprise even if it has to be encouraged by federal subsidies to do its stuff. After all, air and rail lines get income supplements, farmers get them to the tune of a billion a year, exporters get them in tariff, the oil industry in the past 10 years got $30 to $50 billion from consumers through government-imposed import controls, Senate Antitrust subcommittee chief economist John Blair testified last week.

Everybody gets income supplements so why not corporations who go into the ghettoes to aid the poor. The only people who should not get income supplements are the poor themselves. We draw the line there.

What the Nixon Administration will do with the Johnson Administration's Heineman report when it comes, we can't guess. The Nixon approach deserves a fair trial and is going to get it, we suppose, in the next four years. But at best, we fear, it will only touch the fringes of poverty and, at worst, turn into another great tax loophole for corporate enterprise.

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Getting Free

So long as the US government takes primary responsibility for fighting the war in Vietnam, the President of the United States is a prisoner. He is not in a position to demand and get from Congress what the nation wants – greater investment in urban renewal, cleaner air and water, better education and health care, more housing and an assured minimum income. The Congress will reply, and why not, "Don't you know there's a war on?" Moreover, the President cannot, so long as the draft and the casualties continue, escape the abuse of a younger generation, which has no use for the war and no confidence in a leadership that can't or won't end it. Wherever Mr. Nixon turns, his freedom of maneuver is restricted by Vietnam: an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union; cooperation with the Russians in working out a Middle East settlement; renewed confidence among Western Europeans in America's capacity to use its power prudently. Finally, the President knows well that Vietnam locks him in politically; his ability to extricate us swiftly will have a bearing on how well the Republicans do in 1970, and on his own chance for reelection in '72. If there is not substantial progress toward military disengagement within the next six months, the Nixon Administration, in our judgment, might as well file its bankruptcy papers.

No doubt the President longs to be rid of this confinement to Vietnam. He *can* be rid of it and without adopting a policy of "scuttle and run." He can make clear his intention to turn over responsibility for the war to the Vietnamese, on the sensible premise that the war is not ours to win or lose. Saigon may choose to fight or to negotiate, but it will make that decision itself. The people of South Vietnam will be free, freer than they are so long as they are overwhelmed by the US military presence, to retain or reject the leadership that now speaks in their name. The military forces under the command of the South Vietnamese government are many times larger than the forces of those who oppose Saigon. The rulers in Saigon have been the beneficiaries of extended US training, of billions of dollars worth of equipment, military and economic. If they cannot make it now, when can they? To transfer primary responsibility for the war (and the peace) to the Vietnamese is to do no more than this country has always said it meant to do. From the start, the US has said that it is not in Vietnam to colonize, to occupy, to dictate. We

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have repeatedly made the claim that our presence is secondary to Vietnamese initiative and command.

There are a few, slender indications that the Nixon Administration may be about to put that claim to the test. Within the past week, for example, US officials in South Vietnam seem to have made a deliberate effort to underplay the intensity of the current offensive by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. Several instances have been cited where the damage to US troops and installations went unreported or was greater than publicly admitted. This might reflect a determination to keep our "hawks" on short rations and not to excite them.

Perhaps more significant, Secretary of Defense Laird said shortly before leaving Saigon that it would be "desirable and possible" to withdraw some of our 540,000 troops, replacing them with South Vietnamese. This has been said many times before, but the day after Mr. Laird spoke, "informed sources" in Washington mentioned a specific figure of 40,000 to 50,000 troops that might be pulled back this year.

The risk of leaving Vietnam to the Vietnamese is the risk that that country may, in time, come under the control of Vietnamese who have been our enemies. The risk has to be taken, and the sooner the better, because the alternative – prolonged intervention – is more dangerous to the welfare of Americans and Vietnamese, and to the peace of the world.

"Gentlemen, we must face the grim possibility that peace could break out at any moment."

Can the Arabs Make Peace?

President Nixon's announced intention to try and devise a peace settlement for the Middle East in collaboration with the Russians, the French and the British, whether wise or not, faces enormous difficulties.

In all the Middle East, reason is in short supply and rivalries among the Arabs abound. Arab potentates may meld federally, and may be permitted to do so by the Shah of Iran and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, who are on better terms than they were a year ago when the Shah canceled a visit to Riyadh and, instead, dispatched a gunboat. Both have covetous eyes however on oil-rich places like Bahrein, and Kuwait where Mr. and Mrs. Onassis' huge tankers anchor like black whales carrying white refrigerators on their backs. Because its oil reserves are half as big as those in the United States, tiny Kuwait can afford to dispense full, free welfare (including free phone calls) to all its inhabitants without taxing them, though in living memory it built dhows and sold trinkets for a living and was just a sanctuary for desert tribes who were unwilling to join either Wahabi Saudi Arabia or Hashemite Iraq. But Kuwait has built the world's biggest (and best guarded) water filtration plant so as not to be dependent on Iraqi supplies 50 miles away.

The guerrillas and *Al Fatah* may be able to knock over any Arab government daring to deal on the "Israel question." "Death to Israel," screamed the thousands of demonstrators who snake-danced through Cairo streets last week. There is little mutual trust among the Arab governments. King Faisal, fearing Nasser and with reason, may prefer no settlement with Israel if no settlement means having Nasser safely leashed with a $200-million-a-month dole from Saudi Arabia, Libya and Kuwait. (The dole also enables Nasser to keep the Canal shut without going bankrupt, though this may not always suit the Russians.)

In Iraq, nobody's head is safe. Nuri Said, murdered and in his grave for over a decade, has had as successors only men who seem like reincarnations of the most murderous caliphs. The current regime, which seized power in July, 1968, denies all Jews higher education as well as hanging some. Each cabinet member recruits his own security guards. Iraq's ambassador to Lebanon, Dr. Nasser al Hani, who rashly accepted the foreign ministry, was soon assassinated. Iraq has 12,000 troops in Jordan, arrayed against Israel.

Damascus is a city of political terror. During the state funeral of Syria's deposed strong man, Colonel Abdul Karim Jundi, the army-guarded Damascus radio played love songs. Jundi was shot dead in the presidential palace in the presence of the new dictator, General Hafiz Asad, who staged a successful *coup* on Febuary 28. The Syrian Baath party leader, General Salah Jadid, who preferred Soviet economic aid to

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arms and denounced the Iraq government as too bloodthirsty, is now under house arrest. General Asad wants more Soviet arms to fight Israel.

If sanity miraculously pervaded the Middle East, Israel could afford to withdraw from occupied territories, back behind secure, acknowledged borders, in a first stage of coexistence with the Arab world, followed by a state of peaceful cohabitation, with Palestinian refugees resettled and Israeli ships freely moving through the Suez. In a sane Arab world, it would become obvious that the major answer to the whole Middle East population problem lies in shifting not just Palestinian but Egyptian families as well, to underused Iraqi farmland at present wasted. And Israel and Jordan could live together at least as amicably as do the half Muslim, half Christian Lebanese. But an attack of sanity is not around the corner.

The Boys Who Got Excited

On January 25, attention was called in these pages to the startling number of coal miners suffering from "black lung" and the lack of effective health and safety standards to protect them. ("Mining as a Way of Death," by Robert Coles and Harry Huge.)

In early February, some 3,000 miners organized a West Virginia Black Lung Association, and on February 19, some 1,000 of them left their jobs from about a dozen mines in southern West Virginia. Within three days their number had grown to some 10,000 – about a fourth of the state's 42,000 miners. By February 27, with 90 percent of the state's miners on strike, all commercial coal production in the state had been stopped. The coal mine operators said "nothing is working," and then brought suit, asking $1.1 million per day damages from the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) and two UMW districts. That seemed a bit ironic since the walkout was called, not by the UMW, but apparently over its objections. When the first walkout began, a UMW official was quoted as saying, "Don't worry about it. The boys just got a little excited. They'll be back to work tomorrow or the next day." But those "boys" didn't go back until they had the law they wanted – signed, sealed, and delivered. On February 28, 1969, the West Virginia House of Delegates, with hundreds of miners standing in the statehouse halls, passed by unanimous vote (95 to 0) a "black lung" bill described as "the most liberal workmen's compensation bill for miners in the United States." That bill was refused by the state Senate, which voted instead an amended version that omitted many key provisions, including the presumption that a miner who develops lung trouble after long exposure to coal dust is suffering from "black lung." A joint committee thereupon reported out a bill that restored certain – but not all – of the House bill's provisions, including a presumption provision that miners hope will be administered according to the House bill's original intent. The bill was signed by the Governor. The miners – who had pledged that the mines would stay closed until a "fully satisfactory" measure became law – have now gone back to work.

In Washington, the Nixon Administration – unquestionably responsive not only to the West Virginia coal miners but also to the growing criticism of conditions in the mines – on March 3 sent the Congress a bill designed to protect the nation's coal miners from "black lung" and to make coal mines a safer place in which to work. Interestingly enough, the new bill is somewhat stronger than the one prepared last January by the Johnson Administration: for example, it would require operators to reassign any miner with x-ray evidence of "black lung" to other jobs where the air is relatively free of dust; give the Secretary of Interior power to issue regulations on roof supports, electrical equipment, hoisting gear and hauling equipment; authorize fines of up to $10,000 for mine operators when coal dust in the air exceeds certain quantities; provide for shelters in the mines for protection in the event of underground disasters; provide for better communication between the pits and the surface; and require better illumination in the mines. A US Senate Labor subcommittee has begun hearings aimed at getting some federal mine health and safety legislation on the books. What it still needed is a federal statute to compensate those miners who currently suffer from "black lung" and other disabilities.

Readers of this journal have inquired what they might do to help the Appalachian miners. They can write their Representatives and Senators, and to the Secretary of Interior in support of strong federal legislation to insure safe mines and adequate compensation for men afflicted with "black lung." Also, there is the West Virginia Black Lung Association, whose purpose is to obtain effective mine safety and health legislation; its address is Ernest Riddle, Treasurer, West Virginia Black Lung Association, Cannelton, West Virginia. Doctors and lawyers can do something more concrete. One law firm in Michigan wrote to Dr. Coles and Mr. Huge offering to send "some members of our firm into the area on a part-time rotating basis." They hope to work alongside lawyers in the region "philosophically oriented toward the working man," in the belief that "if attorneys are willing to invest sufficient time in the preparation (including extensive medical preparation) and trial of these [compensation] cases, most of them can be won." The lawyers from Michigan are being put in touch with Mr. Howard Thorkleson, an attorney on the staff of the Appalachian Volunteers, Inc., 120 West Court Street, Prestonburg, Kentucky.

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Wiring Wisconsin

by Andrew Hamilton

"A New Voice for the Northwoods," a Navy "public education" film, has had a good run in northern Wisconsin in recent months. The Navy is using it to prepare the local citizens for Project Sanguine, a billion-dollar undertaking which, if carried through, would wire almost the entire northern third of the state by 1974 as a gigantic underground transmitter complex for communicating with Polaris missile submarines on the other side of the globe.

The Sanguine film reminds us that even the military has some difficulty keeping in touch, despite its "vast network of radio and cable circuits . . . which permit our military commanders to send orders to our forces wherever they may be located around the globe." "Many of these communications systems are limited by nature," the narrator explains. "Some are limited in range, or how far we can talk; others, such as high-frequency radio, may become unusable at critical times because of local thunderstorms or other disturbances." That is the reason for Project Sanguine.

The Navy hopes to establish in Wisconsin an all-weather, worldwide transmitter using the extra-low-frequency (ELF) range. These radio waves creep along the earth's crust and so are immune to interference from storms, sunspots and other phenomena that black out radio communications (like high-altitude nuclear explosions). ELF is not much good for ordinary communications purposes. The entire band width is said to be hardly sufficient to carry a single telephone communication. It could be used to transmit simple, coded signals telling Polaris submarine commanders when to fire their missiles and possibly even whom to shoot at. But in order to get worldwide coverage from a single location, the Navy must create a transmitter consisting of crossed sets of very long electrical cables through which it will have to feed enormous amounts of electrical energy. In order to prevent this critical transmitter system from being destroyed in a nuclear attack, the Navy tentatively plans to spread out a number of transmitters over a wide geographical area, burying the cables six feet underground. The effect would be to cover the northern third of Wisconsin with gigantic tic-tac-toe grids, whose individual cables would be up to fifty miles long. Northern Wisconsin is the chosen site because under the rolling terrain (ideal for laying miles of underground cable) is a tongue of the Laurentian Shield, the oldest rock formation of the earth's surface. The rock provides a ground of low conductivity, so the electrical power going into the grids would not be drained off as rapidly as it would in almost any other part of the country.

According to persons who have attended classified Navy briefings on Project Sanguine, the transmitters would not only provide a reliable means of communicating with Polaris submarines but would be able to reach these subs while they are cruising at greater depths and at higher speeds than possible now even under ideal conditions. Theoretically, this would increase the "survivability" of the Polaris fleet by offsetting improved Soviet submarine detection abilities. The Navy declines to discuss this aspect, and even refuses to comment publicly on the ultimate size of the project. When Senator Gaylord Nelson (D., Wis.) asked for information on Sanguine, the Navy supplied, among other material, a number of clippings from Wisconsin newspapers on which it had placed a "Secret" stamp!

However, the Navy is willing to talk about the "Phase I" experiment in ELF transmission now being carried out in northern Wisconsin's Chequamagon (pronounced Shoewaamagon) National Forest, which consists of an above-ground installation of twenty-mile-long cables. The purpose of the "Phase I" test, officials explain, is to learn how to "mitigate" the side effects created when high voltages are run through these cables. When the project was tested on a much smaller scale in another state (the Navy won't say which one), the transmitter caused telephones for miles around to ring uncontrollably and interfered with radio and television transmissions. On the much larger scale planned for Wisconsin, the voltages in the long underground cables could also cause large induced electrical currents to flow through above-ground fences, gutters on houses and other metallic objects parallel to the grids. Officials in charge of the project say they are confident that insulators can be installed on such structures to hold induced currents to no more than 15 volts, still enough current to produce a tingle if someone touches a hot fence.

Other side effects can also be reduced to a minimum, the Navy says. So far, however, it has refused Sen. Nelson's request that soil experts from the University of Wisconsin be briefed on the project. Nelson is worried that the extensive ditching necessary for the projected, full-scale "Phase III" could cause land erosion and silting of rivers and Lake Superior. Some naturalists fear that the electrical current in the transmitter grids might kill off earthworms and other soil creatures, and that the electrical fields created by the transmitters might disrupt bird migrations.

The inhabitants of northern Wisconsin, on the other hand, apparently have no worries at all, not even gothic worries about becoming primary targets in a nuclear attack. Everyone seems to be looking forward to the economic benefits that some think construction of the full-scale project will bring, and to the sheer novelty of a billion-dollar defense installation in the region. "This is an area where an auction or a wedding, a plowing contest or putting in a new gas sta-

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tion is a major event," one outsider commented. (In similar fashion, some small Midwestern communities are said to be competing avidly for the ABM sites that the cities have spurned.) One reason for the favorable reception of Project Sanguine is the local Congressman, Republican Alvin E. O'Konski, who has somehow created an impression that he is personally responsible for bringing about an event that will transform the region's economy and make it a "worldwide communications center." O'Konski can hardly contain his enthusiasm as he describes the 5,000 to 17,000 new jobs that construction of the Project will create between 1972 and 1975. Navy officials privately say this estimate is greatly exaggerated.

There is, in the end, something about Project Sanguine that ought to disturb people. In its public justifications for the scheme, the Navy has made the oblique confession that it lacks a reliable means of communicating with its Polaris subs, supposed heart of the nation's "second-strike" deterrent against nuclear war. Similar communication problems are said to plague other components of our strategic nuclear forces. If true, those facts should stimulate some fundamental questions about the kind of "security" purchased by the tens of billions of dollars we have spent on sophisticated weaponry in the past decade, to say nothing of the wisdom of buying newer, more sophisticated and more electronically vulnerable weapons like the ABM.

Packard's Deal with The Textile Big Three

by Barney Sellers

By May 1, three of the nation's largest textile mills will report to David Packard, Deputy Secretary of Defense, on their progress in meeting his fair employment standards. The reports will be filed as part of undisclosed, verbal agreements between Packard and the firms' chief executives to meet documented charges by the Department that the textile mills discriminate. In return for their efforts, Packard has awarded the firms – Dan River Mills, Burlington Industries, and J. P. Stevens – $14 million in Defense contracts. When the reports are received only Packard will know whether they meet the original "terms." His cryptic announcement approving the new contracts abruptly killed a two year, multi-agency attempt to enforce the government's long neglected power over discriminating contractors and set a poor precedent for future enforcement action.

There are 7,000 textile mills in the country, located mainly on the East Coast and principally in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Though the industry has been traditionally competitive, with small, family-owned firms the rule, recent mergers and acquisitions have resulted in a decreasing reliance on labor-intensive methods and increasing mechanized production in large plants. While there are almost one million textile workers, many female, the work force is declining and dropped by about 15,000 last year. Labor relations in the industry have been marked by management's virulent anti-union policy, which continues to this day, and racial exclusion, which has been broken minimally within recent years. Today, about a tenth of textile jobs are unionized. In the past two decades Dan River, Burlington and J. P. Stevens have been found guilty of violating federal labor practice legislation. Since 1966, the NLRB has found J. P. Stevens guilty of illegal labor acts six times. Four of these findings have been upheld by federal courts and in 1968 the Supreme Court affirmed findings of "massive" violations of the National Labor Relations Act, including firing, demoting, threatening, unlawfully interrogating and spying on employees.

Since 1960 the growth of new Southern industry has created a tight labor market for the mills as white workers have moved to higher paying jobs in other industries. As a result, the mills have been forced to raise wages and break the near-total exclusion of blacks. Ironically, the token breaking of the race line has given management new problems: young black workers, inspired by the organized successes of the civil rights movement, have concluded their main hope for improved working conditions rests with union growth; picketing by black female production workers has received national attention.

In January 1967, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission launched its first industry-wide fair employment project. The textile industry was chosen because it is a major provider of jobs in the Southeast; it uses workers with a wide variety of skills; it traditionally serves as an industrial entry point for unskilled persons; and because it has had a pattern of discriminatory employment. As part of the effort, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, which has authority for overseeing the government's contractor fair employment program, agreed to help organize field visits to eight major mills and to develop programs for change where they would be needed.

In January 1968, OFCC and the Defense Department – which is assigned review responsibility for the textile firms – agreed to visit a limited number of the largest textile mills in the South. The agreement reportedly was for Defense to visit the plants, docu-

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ment discrimination where it existed and consult OFCC prior to making final agreements.

Dan River Mills was picked as the model for the plants and a visit to five facilities was made in January 1968. The main problems found included a very low utilization of black female production workers (even in counties with a one-third black population); virtual exclusion of Negro women from clerical jobs; assignment of black males to low paying, low status jobs; and segregation of facilities, including company-owned housing. In one plant, for example, blacks working for twenty years were in lower paying positions than white employees hired in 1967. A similar pattern was found in 6 other South Carolina plants, where only 5 Negroes were working in almost 700 advanced job spots. (Discriminatory treatment at an Alabama Dan River plant was also exposed in a Civil Rights Commission hearing in April 1968.)

After that field review, Defense made its findings known to the plants and a long series of calls, letters and conferences began in order to work out an acceptable plan. In 1968, Dan River was given more than six extensions of time to develop an adequate plan for change – in government terminology an "affirmative action" plan – even though the basic issues never really changed: how would the company act to redress the present effects of past discrimination, and when would it do it?

The company refused to meet these two key issues. It would not act to correct past injustices by giving black workers a compensatory chance for promotions or pay raises over white workers; it refused to propose time goals. Government officials who argued that present effects of past discrimination must be affirmatively removed relied on two federal district court cases decided last year, the essence of which was stated in a decision involving a paper union and the Crown Zellerbach Company of Bogalusa, Louisiana:

> "Where a seniority system has the effect of perpetuating discrimination and concentrating . . . the effects of past discrimination against Negro employees into the *present* placement of Negroes in inferior positions for promotions and other purposes, that present result is prohibited . . . and must be replaced with another system."

The principle of this case, applying to actions by both unions and employers, was affirmed in mid-January 1969 by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and clearly supports efforts to overcome entrenched segregation and discrimination. The details of the discussions with Dan River were known to both OFCC, who reportedly urged that negotiations be dropped and sanctions started, and the highest Defense officials. The talks dragged on and were bucked back and forth in Defense until just past the 1968 elections, when a final meeting was held four days before the end of the Democratic incumbency. The company was required to reply to the government's proposals with a final response – one week after the new Administration was to take office. The final ingredient in the slowly escalating case was notice from the Defense Supply Agency – the Defense organ in charge of contractor employment – that the Department was due to award $16 million worth of cloth contracts for uniforms, and the three low bidders were Dan River, J. P. Stevens, and Burlington. (During the one-year period of negotiation in 1968, Defense awarded almost 70 contracts worth $77.5 million to the three firms.) DSA pointed out that maintenance of principle in this case might cost the agency $800,000 if the low-bidders were bypassed. It was up to the new Under Secretary of Defense, Mr. Packard, to decide.

Shortly after submission of the company proposal, essentially the same plan that had been discussed for over 12 months, the textile firms turned on the heat. Senator Strom Thurmond (R., S.C.), contacted the White House to get Defense officials in his office to discuss the case. Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.), Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, wrote to the Secretary's office complaining about the military need for the service uniforms and the "unreasonable" fair employment demands. L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina, Stennis' counterpart in the House also indicated his displeasure. And finally, former Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens, now president of J. P. Stevens, visited several former colleagues in Defense. Senators Javits and Brooke, almost alone among the Republicans, urged Defense to take a firm position.

Packard's office announced a decision would be made on February 10, and Defense later indicated to civil rights groups, which were preparing to muster support in Congress, that the decision would be delayed even further. On February 7 Packard's office announced the matter had been settled.

As a result of a session with the chief executive officers of the three firms, the Deputy Secretary "received assurances" the law would be met. No written agreement was made, even though one is required by federal regulations. No representatives of any government agency formerly involved in the case – including civil rights staff – were present. No subsequent information concerning the talks, other than the Secretary's press statement that he would give "personal attention" to the case, was released – even within the Defense Department. OFCC and the Secretary of Labor belatedly asked for copies of the "agreement." Though none was delivered, the arrangement was subsequently approved by Secretary of Labor Shultz. Labor and Defense announced that "to insure" company commitments would be kept, they would develop a quarterly

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report for the mills which would contain specific questions to be answered.

The tragedy of the case – the first major enforcement effort for Defense – is that it was unnecessarily bungled. Civil rights supporters in and out of government saw the issue as the Administration's test in employment enforcement and likened its importance to Secretary Finch's pending school desegregation decisions at HEW. The Defense decision made clear the new Administration's willingness to continue past government enforcement policies that allow more than a score of federal agencies to decide unilaterally when and how the law shall be enforced for minorities. There is even some indication now that Defense procurement officials are preparing to press for scuttling of pre-award compliance reviews.

More important, the decision's handling may reinstate personal law enforcement in civil rights – the government approach to civil rights enforcement wherein decisions are not made routinely and fairly, but through interventions by high political appointees. The dangers of the personal approach are amply demonstrated in the past trials of Commissioner Harold Howe, who spent most of his time at the Office of Education denying he was an "integration czar." Decisions concerning law enforcement in civil rights, as in other areas, should be routinized through regular due process wherever possible.

Finally, Packard relied upon the good word of "fellow" executives in the industry. One need not distrust their personal honesty, but clearly, their economic interests (anti-union) and hiring policies (racist) argue against their ability or willingness to actively recruit, hire and promote blacks. Packard was dealing with the lives of thousands of present and potential minority employees who have traditionally been without support from these firms and who must rely upon the fair working of government due process to protect their rights. Who but David Packard will be able to judge the appropriateness of industry steps toward fair employment? And by what standards will those steps be measured? Gentlemen's agreements are no longer sufficient.

Moynihan at Work In the White House

by John Osborne

At a meeting of the new Council for Urban Affairs on March 6, President Nixon told his assistant for urban affairs, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is also the Council's executive secretary, to get to work right away on a written appraisal of the Council's performance to date. Had it proved to be really useful and, if so, in what ways? Were the President, the other Council members, Moynihan himself and his staff of assistant assistants on the right track in their attempt to develop the "national urban policy" that Mr. Nixon called for when he established the Council by executive order on his third day in office?

These were good questions. The Council and its nine sub-councils are great consumers of high-level executive time. Nixon presided at six of the first eight Council sessions, spending one and one-half to three hours at each of them. Vice President Agnew and the seven Cabinet members who are Council members as well understand that their attendance at its meetings is all but mandatory (HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch begged off like a truant schoolboy from the March 6 meeting, explaining that he could hardly offend powerful Congressmen by cancelling a previously scheduled and conflicting committee appearance.) The President's busy Counsellor, Arthur F. Burns, and Richard Nathan, the Budget Bureau's Assistant Director for Human Resources, are at every session in the White House Cabinet Room. They and their staffs, in effect backing up Moynihan's small staff, devote uncounted working hours to preparing items for discussion by the Council and to studies ordered by it and the President. Under secretaries and assistant secretaries of the departments and department staffers assigned to the work of the sub-councils add to the immense amount of time and labor committed to "urban affairs" and the effort to demonstrate that the vast range of social problems encompassed in that term can be more intelligently defined and better handled by this Administration than they have been in the past.

Moynihan delegated the preparation of answers to the President's questions to Stephen Hess, his principal deputy, and to his staff counsel, John Price. They were still at work on a responding memorandum when this was written, but the tenor of their and Moynihan's forthcoming report to the President was known. It must be judged with some understanding of the atmosphere of the Nixon White House – earnest, trite in the favored modes of expression, but not to be sneered at because of that. The Moynihan staff felt, the President would soon be told, that "the Council has been successful in providing a Presidential perspective to its members." It was worthwhile, indeed essential, that the Attorney General and the six Cabinet secretaries on the Council view the urban problem as the President viewed it, and that they have occasion at the Council meetings to see its many facets from his White House pinnacle rather than always from their own departmental crannies. The Council and the sub-councils, to one or more of which all the Cabinet-ranking members belong, also enabled each of them

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to perceive the issues before them in the same terms – a point highly valued by Moynihan, who holds it to be the beginning and the essence of practicable solutions to diverse and complex social problems. A means of providing such a common view was what he had in mind when he recommended the establishment of the Urban Council to the President, and after six weeks of trial he was prepared to argue that it had already fulfilled the purpose.

How to state another justifying point with becoming modesty was something of a problem in itself, but one that Moynihan and his helpers could be counted upon to solve. Their point was that the Council had provided a useful forum for Daniel Patrick Moynihan and for the instruction that he variously volunteers and is called upon to give the President, the Vice President and the other Council members. At one of the first meetings, he presented and explained at length a paper that could, according to his associates, be taken as at least the basis of "a national urban policy." Its content has not been divulged, but it is known to have ranged from large abstractions to such specifics as the need to provide federal incentives for performance as well as for planning in Model Cities programs and generally to require, as a condition for continued federal funding, higher levels of management and performance in subsidized state and local agencies than have usually been demanded up to now. On another occasion, at Nixon's request, he undertook to explain why it is that in recent years the numbers of people on welfare rolls have risen astronomically while the numbers of employed increased, instead of declining with declines in the totals of unemployed. "I came up with a theory about it," he says, refusing to elaborate.

This disquisition was one of four items on the agenda of the March 6 meeting, which is described as an example of the Council at its talkative best. Moynihan's analysis of the welfare-employment phenomenon sparked a discussion that ranged from the pros and cons of a higher minimum wage to restrictive labor practices in the construction industry, the social uses of birth control and the persisting migration of poor Americans from the countryside to the cities. Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard and a supporting Pentagon team reported on the status of efforts, initiated by former Secretaries McNamara and Clifford and noticeably neglected by Secretary Melvin Laird, to infuse some broad social objectives and benefits into defense recruiting, training, housing and other activities. The President displayed great interest in the subject and gave others present the impression that he means to jack up Secretary Laird and see to it that these recently lagging elements in the defense effort are vigorously supported. A report on summer youth programs for the urban poor held that they were badly conceived and organized and could stand much improvement. But the programs for next summer had already been approved and funded, there would be no point in knocking them, so the best thing to do – the President and Vice President Agnew declared – was to shelve the proffered report, keep quiet and begin steps now to reorganize and improve the summer programs for subsequent years. George Romney, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, had brought for discussion a draft of a statement on his cherished plans to enlist voluntary institutions in the overall urban and poverty programs. But time was running out, the President had to leave and Romney was told to save his paper for the next meeting.

So far, only two tangible results have emerged from the Council and the Moynihan shop. An Office of Minority Business Enterprise has been established in the Department of Commerce, under the supervision of Secretary Maurice Stans, with orders to make a reality of Candidate Nixon's talk about "black capitalism" by coordinating and stimulating the 116 separate federal programs aimed at helping black and other minority Americans to found, finance and manage their own businesses. It was hit upon as a way of demonstrating serious intent without additional cost, and in terms of the numbers of people benefited, its accomplishments can be no more than marginal.

Parts of four Council sessions, five meetings of a sub-council headed by Secretary Finch, hundreds of staff hours and several office sessions with the President produced his February 19 message to Congress, in which he promised to deliver before June 30 a definitive statement of his anti-poverty philosophy and program and in the meantime undertook to retain in modified form the Johnson Administration's central anti-poverty instrument, the Office of Economic Opportunity. It was this decision, rather than the interim delegation of OEO's Head Start program for preschool children to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and of the Job Corps (which he had promised to abolish last year) to the Department of Labor, that gave some indication of the Nixon Administration's approach to the poverty problem. It is only an indication, but on its face it justifies Moynihan's claim on behalf of the President that it constitutes a believable commitment. In this sense, and with the reservation that it is yet to be implemented by meaningful action, it is in contrast to Nixon's raucous campaign chatter about moving people "off the welfare rolls and onto payrolls" and shifting the burden of alleviating American poverty from the national government to private enterprise, the states and localities. A strong belief in the capacity of nonfederal instruments to share the burden persists and will be expressed in a coming spate of Council and staff recommendations and executive actions, but more convincingly than he did during his campaign, Nixon in office has acknowl-

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edged the basic federal responsibility for treating national and urban ills.

Moynihan is credited at the White House with a good deal of responsibility for this shift in tone and also for the tactical caution that marks the Nixon approach. The decision at the March 6 Council meeting to avoid both criticism and explicit defense of the summer youth program is typical. The President's OEO message to Congress was framed in part to anticipate and offset two upcoming studies of anti-poverty programs. A summary report on the whole anti-poverty effort, ordered by Congress last year, is about to be released by the General Accounting Office, with case studies of 50 anti-poverty projects around the country to follow. The GAO's examples of mismanagement, bumbling and plain thievery probably will get the headlines and obscure what White House and other officials with advance knowledge of the report consider to be the constructive suggestions for reform also included in it. A report on the Head Start preschool program, prepared for OEO by the Westinghouse Learning Corporation, will emphasize its failings, particularly the evidence that its effects on black and other deprived children fade away once they enter the public schools. The Administration is braced to argue that this is a challenge to improve both Head Start and the schools rather than an invitation to scrap the effort.

Moynihan goes about his work in his pleasant office in the West Wing basement with his usual zest. Whether his small staff of young enthusiasts, which he manages as he would a seminar of friends, is big enough to handle his many spot assignments and still do the long-range planning also intended is a question that he is reluctant to face. His deputy, Stephen Hess, has called in an experienced government administrator to study the setup and may shortly be confronting Moynihan with a recommendation, probably unwelcome, that he either enlarge the staff or reduce the load that he puts upon it and himself. Personal preferences apart, Moynihan has a sound theory that big staffs are more likely than small staffs to try to take command of the programs and departments with which they work. Nixon has said that his staffs are *not* to take and assert White House command, a directive that is hardly compatible with his own determination to command the federal complex.

Moynihan spends a lot of time with Nixon, usually with others rather than alone with the President. "The poor fellow," Moynihan says, "is seldom more than three hours away from another meeting with me." He maintains that Nixon in private is not the dry stick that some others find him to be and that he enjoys the famous Moynihan wit. A cited example is well below Moynihan's par and close to Nixon's par. As the March 6 meeting of the Urban Council was breaking up, the matter of appointing women to responsible jobs arose. Nixon jokingly asked Moynihan how many women he had on his staff (answer: none). "Mr. President," Moynihan said, "I am forbidden by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to inquire whether the members of my staff are male or female." Nixon laughed.

The Arts Go Begging

by Michael Straight

Our national priorities are set forth in the federal budget, which, in 1968, included these sums:

$80 billion for national defense;
$43 billion for health and welfare;
$ 5 billion for space exploration;
$ 4 billion for roads;
$ 7 million for the arts.

Support for the arts is a smaller item in our budget than economic aid to Costa Rica, smaller than one minor grant made by the National Science Foundation to the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. It amounted to four cents in every $1,000 of government expenditures last year; now it is down to less than three cents.

This cut in the arts budget will scarcely bring the federal budget into balance. Nor does it mean the arts are not hungry. Their need is "desperate," according to the Chairman of the National Council on the Arts. The Ford Foundation, whose annual grants to the arts exceed those of the US Government, agrees. Its latest Report is entitled "The Economic Crisis in the Arts." Why, if their need is "desperate," are the arts starved?

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Eleven years ago, when the Soviet government launched its first Sputnik, science rose sharply in the national priority scale. Federal grants to universities for education and research in science soared to $1.4 billion in 1963 and to $3 billion in 1966.

Five years ago, the arts appeared to be on the verge of a similar upgrading. A Rockefeller Panel had reported that the arts belonged, "not at the periphery of society, but at the center." The President and the press applauded this view. The National Council on the Arts was created in the expectation that its growth would follow the course of the National Science Foundation, which now distributes $500 million in fellowships a year. The expectation has not been realized. One reason for that was Lyndon Johnson. He was led to believe he might cap the cultural legacy of the Kennedy Administration with his White House Festival on the Arts. It was a fiasco. It left Mr. Johnson with the searing conviction that artists were his enemies. He made no serious effort from then on to promote the arts. When his own creation, the National Council on the Arts, was placed before the Congress last year, not one of the President's men was present to defend it. The result was catastrophic. By a vote of 261 to 130, the arts program was cut from a requested $32 million to $4 million for 1969.

The simplest way to explain this setback is to say that Mr. Johnson and the Congress lacked appreciation for the arts. Further reflection suggests an unpalatable alternative – that Congress has not supported the arts program because the program itself has never been thought through.

The President and the Congress agreed, five years ago, that the arts should have public support. But how much support should be given, and in what ways? Should the program concentrate upon the performing arts, whose problems, due to rising costs, were most acute? Or should equal emphasis be given to the fine arts, to landscape architecture and other related endeavors? Should federal aid go to individuals or only to institutions? Should it be a long term program, to raise the general level of cultural awareness? Or should it set out instead to rescue orchestras, repertory companies and dance groups from foundering? These were among the many basic questions to be answered. They were scarcely raised. When President Johnson called in the members of the newly-created National Council on the Arts, in March 1965, he told them that he expected action with a minimum of discussion. Dutifully, the Council met, and in one, brief session, adopted 30 resolutions, recommendations and principles. It then moved on, in its first formal meeting, to spend its funds.

In making its grants, the Council under the leadership of its Chairman, Roger Stevens, was bold and innovative. It backed controversial and experimental enterprises. It reached out far beyond the performing arts. It established new theater companies in Los Angeles, Providence, New Orleans. It saved important companies, such as the American Ballet Theater, from dissolution. At the same time, it set up barriers to its own development by spending public funds in ways to which the Congress was bound to object. And, on February 27, 1968, the Congress did object, in a session that made many Broadway scripts seem dull.

It is easy to laugh at the mixed metaphors of the Congressmen and to feel a fine anger at the injustice of their attacks on "culture." It is more useful to see what they had in mind, since Congressional approval is essential to public support for the arts.

The National Council was sharply criticized in the Congress for authorizing grants unrelated to its main purpose of promoting the arts. "The point is," said Representative William Scherle (R., Iowa), "when Congress appropriates funds, for a specific purpose, it is not making out a blank check. . . ." He cited three grants: $10,000 to the Research and Design Institute of Providence to study road signs; $10,000 to a Citizens Action Conference, convened to consider a park on the Delaware River; and $850,000 to Wesbeth, a low-cost housing development for artists, now under construction in New York City. The first and second of these are very small; the third is very exciting. But their size and their value are not in dispute. Mr. Scherle's argument is simply that these projects are the proper concern of other departments of government and not of the National Council on the Arts.

A fourth project challenged by the Congress was the grant of $200,000 to the Theater Development Fund, which subsidizes plays that might otherwise fail, by purchasing tickets in bulk and reselling them at less than cost. "Why," asked Mr. Scherle, "should we subsidize . . . with tax dollars, a play which the public would not support?" His question is a fair one; for the United States Government is not well suited to intervene in the commercial theater as a backer of particular plays. A sounder role, for government, is to build an audience for good theater, throughout the nation, by improving the teaching of theater and the exposure to theater in our schools. If our government

NEXT WEEK: Stanley Hoffmann writes on "Minimum Feasible Misunderstanding," — the Franco-American rapprochement

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can do that, then the producers of good plays will take care of themselves.

Last year, the National Council gave Distinguished Service Awards of $10,000 apiece to five poets and literary critics. It explained that "although all were acclaimed as 'giants,' . . . none had received the full recognition, either financially or publicly due him." Rep. Albert Quie (R., Minn.) challenged awards, for which the government asks nothing in return. I think he was right to do so. Even in the depths of the depression, President Roosevelt did not hand out public funds in this manner. He put artists to work for their government *as artists*; he paid them for their work. And that working relationship, well rooted in our tradition, led to a memorable epoch in the arts.

From the time of its first meeting, the Council has insisted that grants to individuals are an essential element in its program. Among its earliest grants were:

$372,000 to 50 novelists, poets, painters, sculptors and composers to take leaves-of-absence from teaching;

$77,000 in graduation awards to 77 students, "to enrich their cultural experience";

$205,000 to 22 writers, to write books.

These expenditures led the House of Representatives to vote to deny the Council the right to make any grants to individuals. That decision did not become law, however, and the Council continued to make substantial grants to individuals and reiterate its conviction that these grants are of primary importance. Thus the continuing opposition of the Congress is made certain; and for no compelling reason. On this issue, the Congress may well be right. The Ford Foundation tried out a program of grants to individual artists; it proved to be too hard to administer, and it has been cut back. The British Arts Council attempted a similar program; it has caused intense bitterness among artists who sought and failed to get support. In the physical sciences, individual fellowships in large numbers are given out by our government. But, there are many important distinctions to be made between the physical sciences and the arts. The biologist, probing into the causes of cancer, may be every man's benefactor. The artist has a different role. In a time of rebellion and violence, the arts may be violent and rebellious. A Le Roi Jones, a Norman Mailer, can hardly be a protege of government, if his main purpose is to shock, to offend.

At present, as McNeil Lowry of the Ford Foundation notes, the arts are suffering on two counts. Expectations were raised, and with them costs, in the belief that increased support would be forthcoming. It has failed to materialize, and now, many art institutions are confronted with unmanageable deficits. A number of symphony orchestras will be broken up in the next two years; dozens of theater and dance companies will be disbanded. In the midst of this turmoil, President Nixon decided, last week, not to reappoint Roger Stevens as Chairman of the Arts Council. Mr. Stevens who gained many friends during his term in office, suspects that he is lucky to be leaving while he is still ahead.

India and Pakistan
Divided They Stand

by Alex Campbell

New Delhi

Both India and Pakistan were visited this month by the Russian Defense Minister, Marshal Andrei Grechko, accompanied by an impressive tail of Soviet army, navy and air force brass. India spends more than $1.5 billion on defense, marking a three-fold increase within ten years. Pakistan spends about $520 million. The Indians have twice as many MIG's (80) as the Pakistanis; on the other hand Pakistan has some Chinese tanks. After the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, a brief summer affair which to the Indians' undisguised surprise and relief ended in a kind of draw, the Soviet Union shared the American inclination to get out of their competition in selling arms to both India and Pakistan. But the latest political upset in Pakistan may push

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that nation toward China, tempting the Soviet Union to get back in the act. Russia conceivably could wind up in a supply race with China, selling arms to India to offset Chinese sales to Pakistan, the way the US is impelled to arm Israel against Russian-armed Arabs. Alternatively, India and Pakistan could play a game that is very familiar in this part of the world and that the wily Afghans have played for years. It is called milking more than one cow. India's armaments are already diversified – British, American, Russian. In the present state of relations, the Indians can hardly wish to add Chinese arms to this ensemble. But the next Pakistan government almost certainly hopes to be able to enlarge its supply of Chinese arms without losing its Russian, British or even American sources.

The most spectacular though not necessarily the leading Pakistan politician is Zulfighar Ali Bhutto, the former foreign minister whom President Ayub Khan first fired then put behind bars as a political prisoner. The president had power to do that sort of thing under the Pakistan constitution, which Ayub himself largely wrote, but last month widespread rioting forced Ayub to release Mr. Bhutto and also to announce that he himself will not seek reelection next year. This Johnson-like renunciation has provoked rumors that Ayub's mental as well as physical health is poor, and it won him very little thanks from Bhutto. But the former foreign minister, who is a graduate of the University of California (Berkeley), has directed most of his fire not at Ayub but at India. He tells wildly cheering crowds of Pakistanis that he was opposed to the Tashkent Declaration signed by India and Pakistan in January 1966, which in effect said that the 1965 war was an unfortunate error and they would seek in future to settle their differences by means other than fighting. Bhutto looks forward to "an Algerian-type war of liberation" in Kashmir, which India rules but Pakistan claims. Bhutto accuses Ayub Khan of allowing the Kashmir problem to be "scaled down" and he, Bhutto, now intends to see the issue is "reinstated." That amounts to coolly spitting in the eye of Mr. Kosygin, who persuaded Ayub Khan and the late Mr. Shastri to lay down the hatchet.

As well as offering a new war over Kashmir, Bhutto in his quest for personal power has cheerfully proposed tripling the pay of all government workers and nationalizing banking, insurance and all major industries in Pakistan. He calls this "Scandinavian-type socialism in Asian terms." He is eager to work with Maulana Bashani, the 83-year-old but still formidable head of the pro-Peking National Awami Party, and Sheikh Mulibar Rahman, the leader of the East Pakistan Awami League. Like Bhutto, Rahman has just emerged from jail, having been charged with conspiring to bring about East Pakistan's secession. He is a handsome man of 48 and amicably disposed toward the Pakistan Communist Party. He has promised to lift the ban that was imposed on it in 1954, when workers tried to seize factories. Bhutto himself heads the left-wing People's Party.

Pakistan consists of two separate territories, 1,200 miles apart: West Pakistan, which covers 300,000 square miles and has 50-million people, and East Pakistan, which though it covers only 54,500 square miles has 70-million people. The people of East Pakistan have always bitterly resented their domination by West Pakistan, but their demands for near-sovereign powers have hitherto been suppressed. Ayub Khan knew very well that if he listened to the East Pakistanis, he would immediately be confronted with similar demands, by the Northwest Frontier Pathan leader, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, and others, for carving up West Pakistan again into four states, Northwest Frontier, Sind, Baluchistan and Punjab. Ayub's downfall may bring something like this about.

West Pakistan borders China and is close to Russia; East Pakistan borders Burma. The Chinese are said to have about 1,000 agents active in North Burma and in Nagaland (in India), training people for guerrilla warfare in areas where China claims territory from both Burma and India. A Chinese move into Burma would outflank Pakistan, and also India's West Bengal state, as well as Assam (and Thailand).

In West Bengal, meantime, there has been a political upset quite similar to what is occurring in Pakistan. The new Home Minister of the Indian state of West Bengal, Mr. Jyoti Basu, has long been a well-known agitator for autonomy for the West Bengal state. He is now in control of security and passports in a new West Bengal government that is again dominated by Indian Communists in a "United Front" that includes left-wing Socialists, the Socialist Unity Center, the Forward Bloc (Marxist), and even a Bolshevik Party whose man in the new Cabinet is the Minister for Tourism. The Front is pro-Peking, not pro-Moscow. It is popular among Indian students, who, like many students elsewhere are inclined to dismiss the Russian Communist Party as bourgeois and to go for the Sayings of Mao. For their parents, mostly Congress Party pillars, they have only amused contempt, especially when the elders protest that it was they, after all, who achieved independence for India. "You fought for Independence? But we have always had Independence!" As for Mahatma Gandhi, the students seem to have conceived a real hatred of his memory, for they associate the martyred Father of the Nation with spinning wheels and cottage industries, whereas they want a bustling India of Mod and modern plants.

In 1967, to halt riots and strikes, the Indian Government declared an emergency in West Bengal which was thereafter ruled directly from New Delhi, with a Congress Party governor installed in Calcutta. By

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overwhelmingly winning a mid-term election in the teeth of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) poll, the United Front put an end at least for a time to that. The UF victory was acclaimed by thousands in Calcutta who enthusiastically mobbed the new Ministers, demanded the immediate firing of the governor, and drove around City Square exploding firecrackers in trams decorated with flowers. The UF ministers' first acts were to fix their own pay at a modest $67.50 a month, and to release all the "Naxalites" who had been jailed by the Congress Party administration. Naxalites are revolutionary Maoists, who according to their own February 26 manifesto intend "to unite with our class brothers who are waging heroic struggles in Burma, Thailand, Malaya and Indonesia." The Naxalite manifesto also welcomed the UF victory as "opening up opportunities for Communist revolutionaries to intensify class struggles" in West Bengal, and it called for what it described as "death-defying abandon."

All this might suggest that both India and Pakistan are in for a new period of violence and partition – not, as in the past, because of religious differences, but as part of a Communist conspiracy inspired if not directed by China. A good many commentators here are quite prepared to say as much. In fact, things are not that bad, or that simple. In Pakistan, the flamboyant Bhutto may turn out to have much less clout than he claims or than is claimed for him by the crowds his demagoguery spellbinds. He is from Sind, a somewhat peripheral state in terms of political power in Pakistan, and he may be less prominent in the next Pakistan government than he himself evidently hopes. As for Sheikh Rahman and other East Pakistan leaders, their current demand to have the major voice in the country's affairs is probably just a bargaining counter, to be used to attain their true goal: control of East Pakistan rather than a share, even the biggest share, in the next central government of all Pakistan. Moreover, they and Bhutto are said to be at loggerheads already; they seem sure to quarrel among themselves, which is why Ayub Khan's successor as President could very well be another military man, conservative rather than left-wing, like Air Marshal Asghar Khan, the former head of the Air Force. Pakistan's real testing time may come not in 1970, when the next elections are due, but after another army-backed administration has revealed whether or not it is capable of introducing and making effective some basic and urgent reforms. For what greatly helped to bring Ayub Khan down was the disclosure (ironically, by one of Ayub's own top economic advisers, attached to the Pakistan Planning Commission) that two-thirds of industry in Pakistan, and four-fifths of the banks, are controlled by only 20 families. Ayub had encouraged the rapid growth of a wealthy landowning and a wealthy industrial class, urged thereto by American dispensers of aid who assured him that he must foster "private enterprise." Ayub's own son, Gohar Ayub, leaped almost overnight from being a mere army captain, to being a milionaire through land deals and selling General Motors trucks to the Pakistan Army, of which his father is Commander-in-Chief. Nevertheless, Ayub's acrid description of his apparently successful political opponents—"five cats tied by their tails"—still applies. The cats may have scratched out Ayub, but they probably will scratch one another, too. Bhutto himself has remarked sourly that "a tiger [Ayub] was prowling the jungle, and now that the tiger is wounded, all sorts of inferior animals want to take credit for it."

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, India's Congress Party prime minister, has thus far displayed faster political footwork than Ayub any longer seems capable of. As soon as she learned that the Congress Party had again performed poorly, in the February 9 mid-term elections in four states (Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal), Mrs. Gandhi reshuffled her Cabinet, firing old favorites and finding new ones, in a bid to grab the headlines to take attention off the Congress defeats, and also to clarify that she won't tolerate failure. The Congress Party's share of the total vote went up, not down, from 42 to 45 percent. The trouble was that the other 55 percent went to foes of Congress who this time formed the most unlikely combinations in order to defeat it, instead of fighting one another. After 20 years of independence and Congress Party dominance, even Sikhs and Hindus were ready to work together just to get rid of the incubus. In the upshot, the main issue of the elections often looked like a familiar American one—demands for states' rights and denunciations of control by the central government.

There are at least three factors that work against a simple victory for the states and a corollary defeat of the Congress Party and Mrs. Gandhi. The first of these is the lady herself. Since her father's death, Mrs. Gandhi has proved to be one of the toughest political infighters in a country that's full of tough wheelers and dealers. She has got the best of every opponent rash enough to come out openly against her, and holds in check all those, and they are many, who profess loyalty to her but would actually love to grab her job. The British press lord who remarked after meeting her that she had a pretty little head with nothing in it couldn't have been more wrong. The second factor is that all the Indian states are broke. They have to crawl each year to the central government to beg more money and are too scared of local lobbies to impose the land and other taxes that would make them less dependent on New Delhi. Finally, the state coalitions that have temporarily eclipsed the Congress Party aren't likely to endure. When they begin to break up, each faction is going to be tempted to seek Congress Party support against its other rivals, for no single

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group commands sufficient votes to form a government on its own.

Communalism and regionalism are of course an ever-present danger in India, and Mrs. Gandhi, judging by the increasing frequency of her blasts against them, seems to think they're growing. Widespread Bombay riots were touched off by the demand by Bal Thackeray, leader of the right-wing Shiv Sena, for a self-governing Marathi-speaking state. The Marathis loathe the immigrants who have poured into Bombay the way Negroes and Puerto Ricans poured into New York, but who are mostly white-collar intellectuals who grab the top Bombay jobs. In Madras, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam similarly longs to oust Brahmins to make room for Tamil-speaking Dravidians. As far away as Ladakh, which is very far north, the nomadic Champas resent the intrusion on their grasslands of 3,000 Tibetan refugees with herds of yaks and goats. The only surprising thing about Indian divisiveness is that there isn't more of it, considering that one small village of 300 persons may contain as many as 24 different castes, with nothing in common except that at Holi, the Indian spring festival, they all get high together on marijuana. Yet some degree of political collaboration is ultimately imposed on all Indian groups by their knowledge that they must have allies to acquire power, so long as the ballot box prevails, which in India it does. In the Indian Punjab, the Sikhs have had to divide power with the Hindu Jan Sangh, because Sikhs are themselves split into various factions. In every state, the Congress Party still has a big bundle of votes.

In West Bengal, a state that contains Calcutta, as impossible to govern as New York, the Congress Party for similar reasons, will not lose out forever, especially not to the Communists. The Bengalis were always India's most active bomb-throwers and have always resented New Delhi, much the way East Pakistanis, who also are Bengalis, resent Karachi and Rawalpindi. The Bengalis regard themselves as an intellectual upper caste, speaking the purest Indian language and boasting of the best Indian poets, preeminently Tagore, the Nobel Prize winner. But the United Front is not likely to stay very long united, and either the ensuing breakdown will produce anarchy as it did in 1967, thus giving the central government the opportunity to impose "President's rule", or more probably, breakaway factions will seek new allies, and the Congress Party will be the beneficiary. If the Akali Sikhs of the Indian Punjab can form an alliance with the Jan Sangh, in West Bengal even the Forward Bloc (Marxist) probably won't be above turning toward the Congress Party in an hour of need.

India's political complexity is admittedly not easily distinguishable from political confusion. But it isn't unhealthy. There is a lot of political consciousness, down now to the village level by most accounts. Social and economic progress is occurring, if not through the politicians then in spite of them. The younger generation is a much more vigorous, self-confident breed than existed ten or fifteen years ago. Usually it's the elders who still moan about too much foreign influence. India is still, though to a diminishing degree, dependent on the US for annual shipments of food as well as other aid. An American law that many Americans have never heard of, PL 480, is known to every Indian who can read. Ambassador Chester Bowles presumably will soon be going home; he has been a great ambassador, even though Mrs. Gandhi didn't help him or herself with the US Congress, by choosing a trip to the Soviet Union as the occasion for sounding off on the evils of "imperialism," by which she plainly did not mean the Russian variety. Bowles has tried hard to convince the US Congress, and several Administrations, that India is not Peru, but is a strategically placed continent where one-seventh of the human race live; a population exceeding that of Latin America and Africa combined. Nevertheless, US aid to India is at the foot of the list on a per capita basis – $14, compared to $361 for Israel, $177 for Taiwan and $148 for South Korea. This is not wholly incomprehensible. For with only 10 percent of India's population, Taiwan and South Korea export 80 percent as much as India does, therefore appear to be trying harder. India is deep in debt ($7 billion). Yet, though the rupee was devalued, her share of world exports has slipped, from 2.4 percent in 1948 to 0.8 percent. All other Asian countries are doing better than that.

India could be a tourist's paradise, and there are plenty of fascinating and beautiful Indian items of excellent quality that tourists would be glad to spend money on, thus providing India with badly needed foreign exchange. However, tourism brings in only $35 million a year, a mere 2.2 percent of India's foreign exchange earnings. (Tourism accounts for 43 percent of Spain's.) "Tourists are our honored guests" proclaims a big sign at the airport. As soon as the honored guest passes through the turnstile, he is kept busy filling out forms about the exact amount of cash he is carrying. "What is this 'four shillings and ninepence'? It is sterling money? Why do you not write that? And you have SIGNED your name but you must PRINT it too." The incoming tourist is sternly warned against photographing the airport, as if he'd want to. Later, at a Government of India hotel, when the honored guest tries to cash a traveler's check, he has to stand in line, fill another form, produce his passport.

If one takes the view that Indian villagers are more important, or at any rate have more urgent human needs, than foreign tourists, progress seems undeniable (and this applies to Pakistan as well). Sixteen years ago in a typically backward village, water was hauled up from mud wells in leather buckets, and in

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the hot-weather months the peasants cut the leaves off the trees to feed the starved animals. Now, humans and beasts eat more and better food. No water is drawn from mud wells; profitable tube-wells have been dug instead. There was no electricity; now there are electric mills to grind the grain. Everyone is mad about fertilizer and new "miracle" seeds, also everyone is red-hot about politics, and all vote. Formerly there was no school teacher in the village; now there are nine or ten, half the kids of school age are in school; before, only one in twenty got schooling.

In both India and Pakistan, famines probably are past tragedies, but populations continue to grow alarmingly. India has about 520 million people. It could well have more than a billion before reproduction begins to taper off, in spite of the million or so people who now have themselves sterilized each year (in return for cash awards, or scholarships for their existing children). Condoms, widely distributed through sellers of stamps, tea, cigarettes, matches as well as by the mailman on his round, have largely replaced the loop, which was not popular. But at the moment, vasectomy is the "in" thing (the Pill isn't available here yet). One Indian cabinet minister was so carried away with enthusiasm for sterilization as a means of birth control that he declared in a speech: "The people of India have *embraced* vasectomy." Yet it can cause problems. Many of the doctors who have been performing the operation neglected to tell their male patients that it wouldn't take effect for some months. So, when sterilized husbands found their wives were pregnant, they denounced them for proven infidelity. Snags like that are fairly common in modern India. They are best viewed tolerantly, as part of the price that has to be paid for progress.

MR. CAMPBELL *is on a two-month fact-finding trip to Asia. Next he reports from Thailand.*

Reflections on the ABM Decision

by Robert Rothstein

The argument on ABM over the past ten months represents one of the few occasions in the postwar years when informed public discussions may have significantly affected the outcome of a national security policy decision. As of this writing, the President's decision has not been made public. The odds are about even, however, between delaying for a year, or proceeding some way along to one or another version of a "thin" deployment.

I suppose it is something of a small victory that proponents of the ABM have been forced to scale down their demands. Still, it may be a transitory victory, for the latest, more modest Pentagon proposals are pale reflections of what many ABM advocates really have in mind. In fact, the Sentinel system (Spartan and Sprint missiles with attendant radars) was not even designed to be used in the fashion implicit in the particular kind of limited deployment that Secretary of Defense Laird has been advocating.

Irrespective of the details of Mr. Nixon's decision, it is important to understand the underlying themes of the debate, for the issue of missile defense is going to be with us for the foreseeable future. On defense policy, involving as it does technical and secret matters, our political system can be manipulated by highly committed groups within the bureaucracy who push their points of view beyond the possibility of compromise. ABM shows this. So does the history of the plan for a multilateral nuclear force (MLF). Other elements of the bureaucracy may oppose the committed group, but they are frequently united only in opposition to it, and not in support of a reasonable alternative. Public opponents tend to be one argument behind official proponents, as the latter take advantage of their control of sources of information. The opposition's only real chance of success is to raise sufficient hue and cry so that the President withdraws a policy for which no real consensus can be formed. President Johnson did that with the MLF.

The military, defense contractors and some technical experts in the national security field, plus a number of Congressmen, have been the leading advocates behind the current ABM proposals. Some of their ostensible arguments will be discussed in what fol-

MR. ROTHSTEIN *is an associate professor at Johns Hopkins and the author of* Alliances and Small Powers, *published last year by the Columbia University Press.*

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lows; a parallel effort will be made, however, to understand the reasons for their attachment to the ABM.

When we think about the revolutionary impact of nuclear weapons, we usually think about their terrifying capacity for destruction. Yet for the military, something else may be more important: *there has been no acceptable defense against nuclear attack.* Whatever our military leaders might promise about our capacity to inflict damage on the Soviet Union, they could not (at least after 1954) promise simultaneously to protect the United States from grievous retaliation. Deterrence, therefore, has had to take precedence over defense. Rather than concentrating on building forces primarily designed to fight (and "win") a major war, we have had to concentrate on building a force designed to influence the other side's willingness to go to war at all.

The military has not found it easy adjusting to this new state of affairs. They have traditionally been trained to concentrate on matching or exceeding the capabilities of any potential enemy, and to leave estimates of his intentions (or attempts to influence them) to others. Moreover, the military's primary role has always been protection of the homeland, as well as the creation of a force capable of "winning" any conflict at an acceptable level of cost. Insofar as possible, they seek to achieve their goals by "seizing the initiative," avoiding situations in which we are "bled to death" by the apparently inexhaustible "cannon fodder" of the enemy. These notions are wholly out of joint with a world in which strategic weapons are built *not to be used but to be manipulated,* in which both sides play an elaborate and dangerous charade, in which the notion of "winning" has been supplanted by notions of "parity" or "sufficiency," in which the aims of each side are themselves ambiguous. In such circumstances one can understand the frustration of the military men, especially those old enough to have been educated before these propositions became part of the conventional wisdom. (I am using the term "military" as a convenient shorthand: there are some military men who do not fit the mold I have fashioned, and there are many civilians who do – especially when they are appointed to Congressional committees dealing with military affairs.)

"Well, what did you expect the Secretary of Defense to look like?"

Both the military and their critics agree that nuclear war is possible, although the military would undoubtedly rate that possibility much higher. They disagree in their reaction to that possibility. For the military, if war is possible, it is criminal not to buy all the defense one can get in order to limit its worst effects. For many civilian critics, the possibility that war will come has led, conversely, to a concern with influencing the intentions of the enemy, so that he will remain deterred. One does not, from this point of view, buy defensive systems which can upset stability and which, in any case, are only marginally effective. If war is a possibility, an ABM *might* save lives (whether it will in fact do so depends on whether arms levels have gone up to enable each side to overwhelm the other's ABM); but installation of an ABM, without prior agreement on an arms freeze, might also destabilize the strategic balance and lead to ever higher levels of "assured destruction." The same proposition – war is possible – produces very different practical decisions, depending on whether your intellectual frame of reference leads you to a bias in favor of either deterrence or defense.

Underlying all of this is, I believe, a strong psychological reaction on the part of the military. If the ABM works, or if we believe it works, it has the potential of restoring to the military some of the autonomy and independence they have lost. A *successful* ABM implies a wholly new ball game, because the danger of a destructive attack on the United States would have been at least sharply reduced. It would also give us greater freedom in handling future Koreas (or Vietnams or Berlins?): one need not be overly concerned about the dangers of escalation. If the notion of "winning" cannot be revived, in the case of a major nuclear war, we at least wouldn't have to accept any more local humiliations. Thus, the ABM is important to the military not only because of its presumed

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capacity to limit damage in the event of an attack or an accident; it is also critical in terms of its ability to influence the initiation of offensive actions by our forces (both nuclear and conventional). Put another way, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, prime advocates of a "thick" ABM system, believe that it would "continue the Cuba power environment in the world." In their view, our strategic nuclear superiority has allowed us to exploit our tactical superiority. If that superiority were in doubt or diluted by fears of "having an arm torn off" in a nuclear exchange, we could be hamstrung on a local level.

Contemplate, for example, a situation in which Chinese troops swept into India, and we attempted to slow them up by threatening or initiating retaliation against Chinese nuclear installations. Our ABM could then be a very significant factor, assuming that some remnants of the Chinese nuclear force survived our attack. Admittedly, it is difficult to imagine the Chinese creating a situation in which such action on our part looked reasonable to us. Nevertheless, some of our military are discussing "scenarios" such as this, for they are preoccupied with the specter of Chinese aggressions that we are unable to deter because we fear Chinese nuclear strikes against us.

A defensive system, in sum, is especially attractive to a group whose traditional role has been fundamentally altered not just by nuclear weapons, but by the fact that we could stop an attack only by threatening an even larger one. The similarity here to the debate several years ago on civil defense seems to me to reinforce the argument. Again, on an objective level, the struggle concerned estimates of the likelihood of war and about the effect of various civil defense measures on our ability to either deter or defend against a Soviet attack. But on another level, the argument was about the possibility of *using* our weapons *if* our population was protected.

Whether its proponents really believe in the virtues of ABM deployment on the basis of a considered strategic judgment, or whether it represents, as I think, a kind of reflex judgment on the potential of the ABM for restoring a more traditional strategic environment, the military and some technocrats believe there are technological solutions to strategic problems. (As a subsidiary theme, one might also note a certain fascination with what Oppenheimer, in reference to building the hydrogen bomb, called the "technically sweet," that is, a kind of aesthetic pressure to develop the most advanced tools merely because one is able to do so.) Ultimately, however, there are only political solutions to the problems created by nuclear weapons. The confidence and sense of security necessary to maintain the international system in a state of reasonable stability cannot be achieved by weapons developments in and of themselves. This is especially true when there is no sure and safe way to eliminate the possibility (some would say probability) that the next round of technology will undermine the stability of the preceding one. The fear and uncertainty engendered by knowledge of this prospect can only be controlled by agreements outside of it, not by manipulation of developments within it.

Our propensity to seek technological solutions to difficult political problems is well-known. The strategy of massive retaliation, the emphasis on "more bang for the buck," on regaining the initiative by retaliating when *we* chose and on substituting nuclear technology for ground forces – all these are illustrative. The popularity a decade ago of the concept of limited nuclear war is another illustration; it ran afoul of our allies' understandably negative reactions, as well as the fact that the Soviets also had tactical nuclear weapons. An excessively technological orientation tends to concentrate attention too narrowly on ways and means and to obscure more important questions of purpose and intent. In the ABM debate, we can see the dialectic at work in the Defense Department's reaction to the outburst of criticism against its decision; it has tried to obscure the issue by suggesting that all will be well if only the sites for the missiles are redeployed away from urban areas (or at least urban areas that protest volubly enough).

One might argue that in the last analysis debates about military hardware are not really very significant, that what counts is not force structures and the like but rather the intentions and intelligence of the statesmen of the great powers: if they are willing to accept restraints on their behavior and to assess their responsibilities at least in part in reference to a general concern for stability, then war is unlikely. I find this point of view only partially tenable, for the characteristics of the available military systems surely condition the nature of decisions taken. The impact of mobilization schedules on the outbreak of World War I is a case in point. And the Cuban missile crisis ought to limit optimism about the willingness of reasonable men to seriously contemplate nuclear war – and in somewhat dubious circumstances.

I would also feel more confident about the argument that it is intention and will which are decisive, if it were not for the nature of the present leadership of the Defense Department. Anyone who takes the trouble to read the writings of Mr. Laird and Assistant Secretary of Defense G. Warren Nutter on these matters is bound to come away troubled. The Duke of Wellington's comment as he looked over his troops before the battle of Waterloo comes to mind: "I don't know whether they scare the enemy, but by God, they scare me."

This is the first of two articles by Mr. Rothstein on the ABM controversy.

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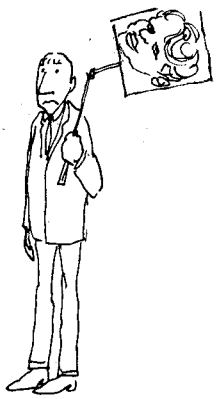
JULES FEIFFER

I WENT INTO THEOLOGY AND LEARNED GOD IS DEAD.

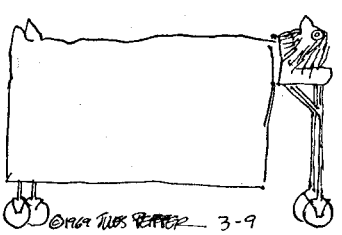
I WENT INTO CIVIL RIGHTS AND LEARNED BROTHERHOOD IS DEAD.

I WENT INTO POLITICS AND LEARNED HOPE IS DEAD.

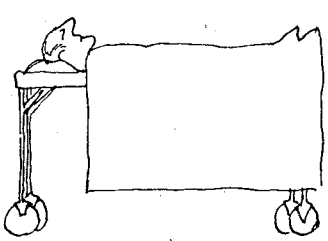


I WENT INTO DRUGS AND LEARNED I'M DEAD.

SO I OFFERED MY HEART TO MEDICINE.

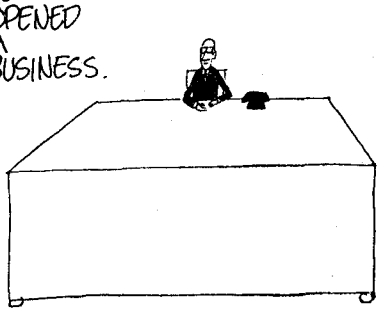


IT WAS TRANSPLANTED INTO THE BODY OF A DISILLUSIONED LIBERAL WHOSE OWN HEART HAD BROKEN.



THE OPERATION WAS A SUCCESS AND HE BEGAN TO HAVE HOPE AGAIN.

LAST WEEK HE OPENED A BUSINESS.



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James Finn: Believers as Artists

The Theological Novel of Modern Europe by Kurt F. Reinhardt

(Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.; $7.00)

The problem of literature and belief is never simple, never solved. This is true whether we speak of belief in philosophical, ideological or, as here, in religious terms. But the problem presents itself to us in different ways at different times and, since it is of significant dimensions, is worth occasional reexamination. A moment like the present, when many venerable traditions are being tested and found wanting, offers special challenges and diverting temptations. Kurt Reinhardt has bravely exposed himself to both.

I. A. Richards and T. S. Eliot set the terms of the examination as it was carried on in England and America from the 20's into the 50's. In a note to his essay on Dante, Eliot wrote that "*if* there is 'literature,' *if* there is 'poetry,' then it must be possible to have full literary or poetic appreciation without sharing the beliefs of the poet." And in the same note: "It is possible and sometimes necessary to argue that full understanding must identify itself with full belief. A good deal, it thus turns out, hangs on the meaning, if any, of this short word *full*." To those who wished to assert the autonomy of art and to free particular works from the crippling judgments of true believers, religious or political, the debate initiated by the magisterial Eliot was heady and liberating. The need for helpful distinctions was highly evident – as indeed it still is. For it is not the least dedicated of writers who rush to judgment.

Paul Claudel and André Gide, for example, corresponded for over a quarter of a century, extending mutual praise; yet because Gide embraced homosexuality and rejected Catholicism, Claudel was able to say toward the end of his life, "From the artistic and intellectual point of view Gide is nothing." And Edmund Wilson was so disaffected by Evelyn Waugh's Catholicism that his criticism of *The Loved One*, Waugh's satiric dissection of the burial practices of Hollywood's Forest Lawn, included such wonderments as this: "To the non-religious reader, however, the patrons and proprietors of Whispering Glades seem more sensible and less absurd than the priest-guided Evelyn Waugh." Again, when M. L. Rosenthal in his study of modern poets writes that "A predetermined result biases the curve of [Gerard Manley] Hopkins's writing," the exact intention of his comment is, to some readers at least, uncertain. Even when he continues, "Unless we share his particular beliefs we are more sympathetic with his conflicts . . . than with his imposed solutions."

"His *imposed* solutions." This is the phrase on which the mind catches, as on a thorn; the phrase which provides entry into those familiar debates of years recently past. But it seems fair – even necessary – to ask if we can transpose this *kind* of judgment to, for example, Robert Lowell, Sylvia Plath, Allen Ginsberg and the confessional poets who have already modified the "objective" critical standards that seemed so durable not long ago. And to ask whether such poets can help us see the confessional poems of, say, Hopkins in a new light.

However we assess the changes that have taken place in imaginative literature in the last 15 or so years, and therefore in the ways we attend to particular works, these changes pale in comparison with those in the Christian traditions to which Mr. Reinhardt restricts himself. The evidence is everywhere, but we have Evelyn Waugh's expert testimony on how it has modified some aspects of his own work. In his 1964 preface to *Sword of Honour*, the first part of which appeared in 1952, he wrote:

> "On reading the book I realized that I had done something quite outside my original intention. I had written an obituary of the Roman Catholic Church in England as it existed for many centuries. All the rites and most of the opinions here described are already obsolete. . . . It never occurred to me, writing *Sword of Honour*, that the Church was susceptible to change. I was wrong and I have seen a superficial revolution in what then seemed permanent."

That we have witnessed the revolution Waugh refers to is undeniable; that it is superficial is open to question. My own opinion is that it is profound, extensive and continuing. I do not refer to such phenomena as the "Death of God" sensation, that theological balloon that hissed its life away before it ever attained a respectable altitude. I refer to those changes within Christianity, experienced most dramatically within Catholicism, that have exposed to radical reexamination every significant attitude, opinion, practice and dogma. Whatever its culmination this revolution has hastened to the dust heap of critical opinion – their eventual destination, in any event – many a theologico-literary disquisition.

Thus, crabwise, I have approached Léon Bloy, Bernanos, Mauriac, Camus, Kurt Reinhardt's study of Dostoevsky, Graham Greene, Waugh and Gertrud von Le Fort. Mr. Reinhardt is clearly able to draw upon a wide knowledge of both literary and theological works. He could readily extend his comments, I am certain, on these and other writers whose novels draw sustenance from religious experience. He is capable of exact, illuminating descriptions. He says of Bloy, for example, that "He quite consistently lived in a self-created world of absolutes. From that dizzy height he looked down upon the world and upon men and judged it and them." And of Bernanos: "The truth is that the faith of Bernanos was neither logical nor systematic but rather dynamic and synthetic." And

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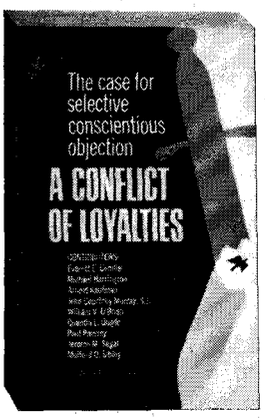

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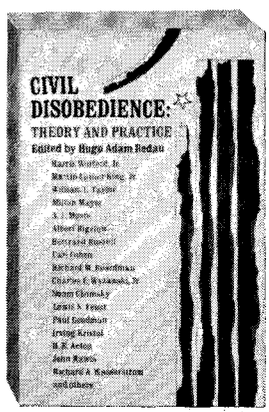

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he can, on occasion, make illuminating comparisons of authors as dissimilar as Camus and Mauriac.

Nevertheless, the book is a disappointment on several levels. Reinhardt seems woefully innocent of the strategies of art and of the relation of the author to his work. He writes: "In the novel *Le désespéré* Bloy says of himself that . . ."; of *The Plague*, "In thus leading the reader, as it were, to the threshold of grace, Camus, the self-styled atheist . . ."; of Greene's *The Power and the Glory*, "And the author argues convincingly. . . ." This is a particularly hazardous approach for a critic who has previously written that "authors who advance a religious or theological thesis, whether expressed in a theoretical treatise or in a work of literature, can be appreciated only by readers who live and think sympathetically and empathetically within a similar frame of reference." For the author is not the narrator of a novel – even if he is a Bloy or a Dostoevsky – nor a work of fiction an apologetic. It is, I presume, these confused perceptions that allow Reinhardt to say of that broken-backed book *Brideshead Revisited* that "it was Waugh's greatest achievement as a novelist," and to praise several of Greene's books as masterpieces. After this, the misguided asperities of Edmund Wilson are refreshing.

Equally unsatisfying is Reinhardt's attitude to the revolution taking place within religious communities today. Not that he is unaware of it; it is rather as if he noted a revolution taking place outside his classroom windows, only to turn back to his students and resume his momentarily interrupted discourse. What we need today is something quite different: an examination of those recent literary works that utilize religious concepts which suddenly appear inadequate, even within the traditions that have produced them; or of more recent works that cope with that very problem. Such a study might include American writers like J. F. Powers, Flannery O'Connor and A. J. Langguth.

There is no suggestion here that any of the fictions to be examined will be more or less valuable because recent changes within religious traditions have sapped many of the concepts they employed. In some instances – I would cite the works of Greene – the extent to which these concepts are used as scaffolding will simply be more evi-

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dent. Until a work of this kind is written, I would direct readers to *Maria Cross*, Conor Cruise O'Brien's brilliant study of certain religious writers; not only because he had the audacity to develop his own insights, idiosyncracies and special interests, without fear that anyone would judge them to be anything other than his own, but because he was willing, even eager, to go behind and beyond the novelist's publicly proclaimed allegiances to see how commitment, emotional and intellectual, conscious and unconscious, helped shape the body of his work.

Leon Friedman: Sacco, Vanzetti and the Scottsboro Boys

The Case That Will Not Die
by Herbert B. Ehrmann

(Little, Brown; $12.50)

Scottsboro
by Dan T. Carter

(Louisiana State; $10.00)

Some years ago, a Harvard Law School student, Peter Teachout, used the term "underlaw" to describe the systematic exploitation of areas of discretion in the legal process to subvert normal judicial procedures. Enormous latitude exists at every level of the legal system: whom should the police arrest or charge; what witnesses should the prosecutor question, influence or use; what evidence should he look for or present; whom or what should the jury believe; what legal precedent should the judge follow or apply. After the writings of Jerome Frank and Benjamin Cardozo, no one questions that prejudice and emotion have governed many, if not most, of these selections.

In an open, plural society, with many groups fairly represented in the police stations and the courts and, above them, among the political authorities, these irrational currents can cancel each other. But if the hates and fears of the community become magnified, flow only in one direction, and affect virtually every officer of the law in almost every choice he makes, the process loses its balance and function. The evidence uncovered is no longer complete, events receive unfair court presentation, the jury itself moves with the tide. The legal system does not transcend the passions of the time. Law becomes underlaw.

The two most notorious examples of American injustice resulting from these pressures are perhaps the Sacco-Vanzetti case of the 1920's, and the many trials of the Scottsboro boys of the 1930's. (Within the past year books have appeared dealing with two earlier victims of the system – Tom Mooney and Leo Frank.) Herbert Ehrmann, author of *The Case That Will Not Die*, acted as junior counsel to the defense during the last two years of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. By that time it had become an international scandal, but the legal avenues available to the two men were severely limited.

They had been tried in Dedham, Massachusetts, during the summer of 1921 for the holdup and murder of two payroll guards in nearby South Braintree. The evidence of their guilt seemed impressive enough at the trial. Five eyewitnesses testified they recog-

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nized Sacco as one of the gunmen. A cap which might have been his was found at the site of the crime. Two ballistics experts gave testimony which indicated his gun fired one of the fatal bullets. He had taken off from his job on April 15, the day of the murders. Vanzetti was accused and tried for an earlier unsuccessful holdup at Bridgewater, and found guilty of that crime before the Dedham trial. Three eyewitnesses identified him as one of the robbers at Bridgewater and he did not testify on his own behalf. All of his alibi witnesses were members of the Italian community in Plymouth, and the prosecutor – playing to a Yankee jury – dismissed their testimony as the result of "some of those Italians up there [telling] you what to say." At the second trial one man identified Vanzetti as a member of the holdup gang and two others claimed to have seen him in or near Braintree on April 15. Some testimony was introduced to show Vanzetti's gun originally belonged to one of the Braintree victims. Both defendants were carrying weapons when they were arrested, and lied extensively to the police.

All the evidence had been gathered by the police and the prosecution, who were thoroughly convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty. Testimony suggesting their innocence was ignored, and leads pointing to other individuals dropped. A police official who believed the two men were not the killers was taken off the case. Even local federal agents told state authorities that the job looked too professional for the likes of a fish peddler and a cobbler. But the arresting police chief had a vision that the murderers "knew no God," and could not imagine anyone but the two Italian anarchists as prime suspects. Determined police work and pressure on reluctant witnesses eventually produced a solid case.

The prosecutors' evidence was vigorously challenged at the trial. Sacco claimed he went to Boston on April 15 to get a passport, and his story was corroborated by three substantial witnesses. The cap he supposedly dropped did not fit him. Vanzetti, the fish-peddler, had no fixed place of employment, but three witnesses placed him in Plymouth on the day of the crime. The two men explained their possession of weapons and their false stories to the police as being due to their anarchist affiliations. When arrested they were trying to move some radical literature away from Bridgewater, following the Palmer raids of early 1920, and the mysterious death of an arrested anarchist leader in New York, one day before. This explanation allowed the prosecution to drag before the jury the defendants' radical politics and opposition to World War I – they had run away to Mexico to escape the draft. But, all in all, the jury had some basis for a guilty verdict.

However, as time went on the prosecution case fell apart. Prior inconsistent statements by virtually every eyewitness came to light. One of the ballistics experts called by the prosecution did not believe Sacco's gun did the killing, but the prosecution had put the questions to him in such a way that his answers suggested a contrary opinion. Ehrmann and senior defense counsel William Thompson unearthed evidence showing a professional group of criminals called the Morelli gang to be responsible for the killings. A fellow convict at the Dedham jail, Celestino Madeiros, told Sac-

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co and his lawyers in 1925 how and by whom the job was done, and his story fit quite closely the facts of the crime. Unfortunately, any motion for a new trial had to be presented to the original trial judge, Webster Thayer, whose bias against the defendants and their politics is spread throughout the record. Ehrmann captures the urgency and frustration of the lawyers whose substantial discoveries were rejected time and again by the stubborn judge.

Ehrmann's book stays close – perhaps too close – to the case itself, examines and reexamines all the testimony, and engages in the most thorough analysis of each of the key issues. He effectively answers Francis Russell's recent book *Tragedy in Dedham* which suggested that while Vanzetti was innocent, Sacco probably was not. But Russell relied upon ballistics evidence based on a very carelessly preserved bullet, and made by two experts who had already taken a position against Sacco.

Even if the defendants had committed the crime, the tactics of the prosecutor and the behavior of the judge would be inexcusable. But the case takes on its horrible and heroic dimensions only if the defendants' innocence can be conclusively shown. Ehrmann thus feels obliged to run down every last shred of evidence, to trace all the changes in testimony from the day of the crime to the last appearance of a witness before the Governor's Advisory Committee. All great trials, and thus the great problems of justice, come down to the smallest issues of fact: what do the Kennedy autopsy pictures show, could the FBI have duplicated Alger Hiss' typewriter, do different scratches appear on the bullet from Sacco's gun.

Ehrmann chooses not to examine the affair's larger issues. The political alignment behind the case, the "legacy" of the proceedings (discussed in an excellent volume by George Joughin and Edmund Morgan), even the character of the defendants themselves, are largely ignored. Justice Louis Brandeis, who believed them innocent, was less convinced by the defense evidence than by the personal qualities of the men. Vanzetti's writings and statements show him to be one of the purest souls of the century, and it was inconceivable, thought Brandeis, that he could have been a party to two brutal robberies and murders. Ehrmann quotes his long speech after being sentenced, but does not include his famous words about his death, one of the great outpourings of the human spirit:

> If it had not been for this thing, I might have live out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as now we do by an accident.
>
> Our words – our lives – our pains – nothing. The taking of our lives – lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler – all!
>
> That last moment belongs to us – that agony is our triumph.

Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote to Harold Laski about Sacco-Vanzetti: "I cannot but ask myself why this so much greater interest in red than black. A thousand-fold worse cases of Negroes come up from time to time, but the world does not worry over them." While the Sacco-Vanzetti case might be considered an accident, a temporary breakdown of the legal process, the Scottsboro trials showed the Southern legal system functioning exactly in accordance to its design. In effect the authorities were saying to the Black community: "Your Negro men must stay so far away from any of our white women that the most paranoid or frightened white prostitute would not have the chance to holler 'rape.' But if they get close enough to allow any white woman to press such charges, we are going to string them up no matter what the evidence shows. So keep away!" The legal system is thus enforcing a social policy generally accepted by a particular white community. The fact that it had no relation whatsoever to the requirements of due process or the goals of national law was irrelevant.

The number of black men falsely accused of rape, and then killed by lynching or by a relative of the alleged victim, has always been high in the South.

Notes on Contributors

JAMES FINN *is editor of* worldview *and author of* Protest: Pacifism and Politics. LEON FRIEDMAN *is a New York attorney.*

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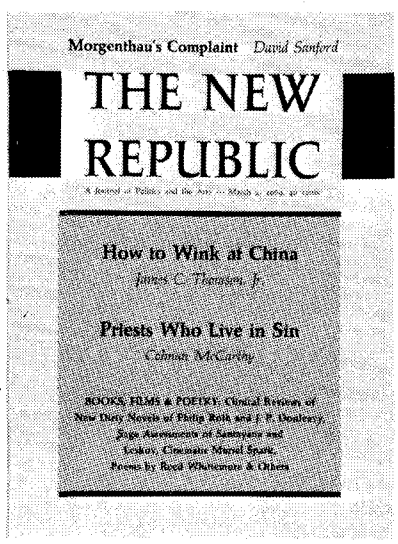

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The Scottsboro case in 1931 was unique because eight Negroes, including one 13-year-old boy, were sentenced to death by an Alabama court after a series of one-day trials with the most perfunctory legal assistance on their behalf. (A mistrial was declared for the ninth defendant, also 13 years old, because seven jurymen insisted on the death penalty although the state asked only for life imprisonment.) They had been accused of rape by two white girls, Victoria Price and Ruby Bates, of the most questionable virtue. The attack supposedly took place on a freight train the girls were riding across state lines with some male companions and, evidently concerned about a Mann Act prosecution, the girls decided that a vigorous offense was the best defense. The doctors who examined them saw no evidence of any violent attack, although they did note quantities of semen, deposited, it turned out, by their white boyfriends the night before.

The Communists in the midst of a Negro-recruiting drive picked up the case, and their International Labor Defense committee fought the appeals. Their propaganda campaign was quite effective in the North, but it was almost disastrous for the defendants themselves since the Alabama authorities reacted with fury to the clumsy pressure. Dan Carter, a South Carolinian now teaching at the University of Maryland, traces the methods by which the Communists outmaneuvered the NAACP, and the political capital they gained by their capture of the case. While it was probably in the Communists' interest that the Scottsboro boys be executed, they were obliged to show how vigorously they defended cases of racial injustice, and their lawyers pressed the cases with skill and determination. The first appeal led to the first Supreme Court decision on the right to effective counsel in a criminal trial. The second appeal produced a significant decision on exclusion of Negroes from juries and grand juries. One of the boys was retried in March, 1933, before Judge James Horton, the only fair jurist in the proceedings, who ordered a new trial since he did not believe the state's star witness, Victoria Price. Although Ruby Bates recanted her story in the third set of trials, the jury still brought in a death sentence. Eventually five of the boys were found guilty and sentenced to long prison terms and four others released after six years in jail.

In a sense, the long controversy served the South's purpose better than a quick execution. The many trials, each leading to a verdict of guilty, showed the Negro community that even high-power legal talent from New York and thousands of Communist dollars were useless in a Southern court. The prosecutor told one white jury: "Show them that Alabama justice cannot be bought and sold with Jew money from New York."

Since the facts of the case were rather uncomplicated, Carter can examine the political background, the pattern of enforcement in similar cases, the weakness of the moderate forces in the South, the brutal counterattack by the authorities against any Negro organization, and the relations between the NAACP and the Communists. His broad perspective makes the book more than a case history; it is a wide-ranging social investigation into the operation of law for illegal ends.

Correspondence

Biafra

Sirs:

In your issue of March 1, 1969, you have an article on Biafra by Steven Jervis which seems to me a long series of inaccurate and slanted statements. . . . I was in Biafra during the first part of this month, as head of a technical US relief mission of private citizens who traveled there with a US Senator and with the full knowledge and encouragement of the Secretary of State. The mission comprised a professor of agriculture and assistant dean for international programs at Michigan State University, Professor George Axinn, who had sojourned seven years in Eastern Nigeria, where he served in various capacities at the University of Nigeria at Nsukka – including as acting vice chancellor; an associate professor of pediatrics and preventive medicine at Tufts University with over three years of experience in Black Africa, Dr. Roy Brown; a long time consultant to UNICEF who was our advisor on transportation and logistics with over six years of experience in Nigeria, Mr. George Orick, and I as chairman of the group. (I am professor of nutrition at Harvard University, a member of the

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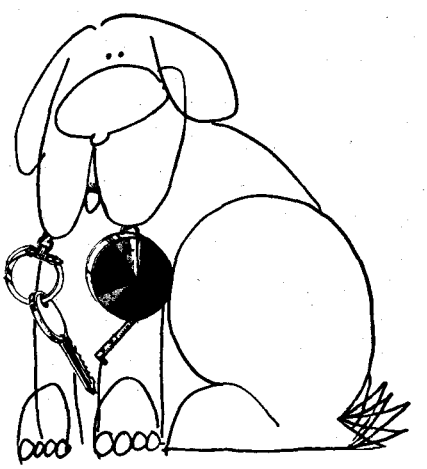

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joint FAO-WHO Committee on Nutrition, and chairman of the Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States. I have served on a number of missions to West Africa.)

The Red Cross is not feeding soldiers. It is not even distributing supplies to most civilians. It and the churches are feeding only the refugees in camps and sick children in hospitals and kwashiorkor centers. Out of 8.5 million people that our studies showed are now in Biafra, over 4 million are refugees, but only 2.5 million or so are in camps or fed in such centers. (Our figures do not include the 1.5 million dead that we estimate have died so far – civilian casualties outnumber military casualties by well over 100 to 1.)

Incidentally, we saw and talked to a great many refugees, many of them non-Ibos and found no sign of this coercion that Mr. Jervis describes. (The fact that Port Harcourt, according to him has only 5,000 inhabitants now, most of them northerners, speaks for itself anyway.) I was horrified at Mr. Jervis treating in such a cavalier fashion what he calls "some federal brutality" and implying that such reports were "pure fabrication fed to reporters." My mission is witness to the fact that civilian targets are bombed every day. Every major hospital has been bombed and strafed, even though all had large red crosses on the roof, and even though many were far from towns, crossroads or any other legitimate target. At present, red crosses are being camouflaged (even on the roof of the headquarters of the International Red Cross) as they only attract Nigerian Ilyushins and MIG-17's without giving protection. All schools have had to be closed because the children were strafed and bombed. Refugees and children sick with kwashiorkor have to be fed at night because in the daytime they are strafed by low-flying MIG-17's. As for Ojukwu's "sensational but spurious reports of poison" I am sorry to say that once again I have to disagree with Mr. Jervis. My mission obtained samples of food which had come through Nigerian lines. We did this as a check on the work of the Biafran toxicological laboratories that we visited. We seized the food samples under conditions where we believe fraud was very unlikely to have taken place. Analysis of these samples by the laboratories of the Food and Drug Administration

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confirmed that some (salt and dry skim milk) had been poisoned with arsenic. This, by no means, proves that there is a deliberate policy of the Nigerian government to poison all Biafrans, but it does explain why Biafrans do not want to see the food come under conditions where Nigerian access is possible. As for the relief flights (which come from airports which only handle relief), they are interfered with every night by a Nigerian bomber which bombs them as they land. The pilot of the bomber taunts the Swiss, Australian, Swedish, and American relief pilots (we have a tape of his threats). He identifies himself as "Genocide."

Nobody in Washington wants immersion in a "tribal war" as Mr. Jervis calls it. At the same time, it is likely that our country, which has provided 32,000 tons of relief food for Nigeria, is now pledged to a total of 73,000 tons and has given considerable medical help to that side, will increasingly give food and drugs to Biafra as well. Whether Mr. Jervis approves of it or not, is a moral issue which only he can solve for himself.

Jean Mayer
Harvard University

Sirs:

Steven Jervis' article contained an incredible collection of half truths, allegations presented with the air of truth, and downright falsehoods. A good example is the statement, attributed to an unnamed Nigerian army commander, that the Red Cross are murderers, giving food to the soldiers, but not to the starving. Has Mr. Jervis the slightest evidence, other than the word of Nigerian officials, that contrary to Red Cross claims the food flown into Biafran held territory is not being used to feed the starving?

In addition to his secondhand jab at the Red Cross, Mr. Jervis mentioned roadblocks to relief efforts put up by the Biafrans, and also the eight C-97 planes sent by the US relief agencies. He failed to mention the much more serious roadblocks to relief efforts imposed by the Nigerian Federal Government. He said not a word about the pilots who fly the planes obtained by Nigeria from Russia.

Yet it is because these pilots zeroed in on the four C-97's flown by Joint Church Aid – USA (the relief group formed by the Protestant Church World Service, Catholic Relief, and the American Jewish Emergency Effort for Biafran Relief) that the C-97's had to be grounded.

He mentioned the $20 million in US relief aid, but failed to state how much of it has gotten past the docks of Lagos and into hungry mouths in the war zone. He brushed off the shocking misuse of Russian planes to kill thousands of innocent civilians by admitting that "some" Federal brutalities are sadly real, and by pairing these brutalities with one allegation that a particular claim of atrocity was fabricated by the Biafrans. But he failed to mention the dozens of statements by relief workers (including, for instance, those by Father Dohaney, Holy Rosary Mission, Biafra, and Mr. H. K. Jaki, chief delegate of the International Red Cross in Biafra – taped in Biafra by Fulton Lewis in December) attesting to the *deliberate and continued* attacks on hospitals, marketplaces, and relief feeding stations.

He stated that Nigerians regard touring US congressmen who spend twice as long in Biafra as in Lagos with contempt. At least the touring US congressmen travelled to both sides of the battle line to try to see for themselves what they were reporting on.

But worst of all, he failed to mention the one to two million people, chiefly children, who have starved to death in what he refers to as a "tribal war in West Africa." Or does Mr. Jervis agree with Mr. A. Oruambu, a Nigerian official of the Nigerian Consulate General in New York (a speaker at a symposium held at the University of Kansas, Feb. 13-14, 1969), who when asked about the hundreds of photos of horribly starving black children sent to us by church relief agencies, replied that they were faked (at another point he said that they were children of the Congo, and at another that they were really captives taken by retreating troops and starved deliberately for publicity purposes).

Howard Kahane
University of Kansas

Indian Schools

Sirs:

As psychiatric consultants to the Busby (boarding) School on the Northern Cheyenne reservation in southeastern Montana, we have encountered many of the problems discussed by Mr. Henninger and Miss Esposito in their article on Indian education (*NR*, Feb. 15). The "crossover" phenomenon, apathy and boredom in Indian students, BIA personnel and hiring difficulties, and suicide attempts and other escapist behavior are continual problems in our experience on the Crow and Northern Cheyenne reservations, and undoubtedly are present throughout the Federal Indian education system.

We would like to correct the implication that all BIA schools are alike, and that none of the nonexperimental schools are making efforts to improve

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their admittedly inadequate educational operations, as the article leads one to believe. For example, the Busby School requires no standard dress, has no large dormitory rooms, does not discourage student contact with visitors, and has a much lower dormitory aide-student ratio than the article cites. The school, through the Billings area Public Health Service office, has an active psychiatric consultation program staffed by personnel from the University of Colorado Department of Psychiatry. The school administration (on the school superintendent's initiative) has made special arrangements for regular psychological consultation and other services from the state mental health center in Miles City. Dr. D. J. Doland, a clinical psychologist at Crow on a sabbatical from Smith College, also spends one day a week working with students and staff at the school.

Although the current state of Indian education is indeed a national disgrace and can only benefit from any and all exposure in the popular press, it is inaccurate and grossly unfair to generalize needlessly or portray all BIA educators as totally insensitive and unable or unwilling to try to improve the situation.

Finally, for the record, it is our impression that Indian students do not fare appreciably better in non-BIA schools.

Jerome A. Chadwick, M.D.
James T. Barter, M.D.
Denver, Colorado

Sirs:

A casual urban reader of the article on Indian education by Daniel Henninger and Nancy Esposito could easily assume that the conditions alleged by them to exist among the Navajos are typical of BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) educational efforts everywhere. In part, at least, this is simply not so.

Most of my life has been spent on or near Sioux reservations, and in recent years I have not even heard rumors of any BIA employee (or Jesuit missionary, for that matter) preventing or discouraging Sioux children from speaking their native Lakota or Dakota language. Many of us who teach for the BIA actively encourage our Sioux students to use their tongue and culture, lest it slip away from them. We have done so with no worries of reprimands from our superiors.

As for Indian students being forbidden to make fry bread, I have been served fry bread and berry sauce so often at social gatherings in our home economics classrooms that my Anglo-Saxon innards have had quite enough of it, thank you.

"A visitor is discouraged from talking to the children." Sheer nonsense, here at least. Visitors can – and do – talk to our students on the campus, in the dormitories, and in the dining hall virtually at will.

I could cite additional discrepancies, but the above will suffice.

Just as there are substantial differences among the problems faced by the many tribes of American Indians, however, there also are some strong parallels. One is white racism, a daily fact of life for many "unacculturated, reservation Indians" (as the social scientists call them) everywhere, and what it does to these Indians' self-image.

Another is the failure of most Indian children to learn, particularly in the upper grades. The more I read about conditions in urban ghetto schools, however, the more I am convinced of the startling parallels between their problems and ours (after all, ours are "ghetto" schools, too).

The cruel fact of life is that only if a youngster is the product of a happy, middle-class marriage – white, black, Indian, Chinese, Spanish-American, or what have you; race is a minor factor here – is he likely to do well in most (financially undernourished) American schools. And if he isn't middle-class? Well, he's got two strikes on him and a fast ball coming up.

My own nine-year-old daughter, who attended a BIA boarding-day school until the Shannon County school board segregated the BIA school by withdrawing tuition money for non-Indian children, is a case in point. She was thoroughly exposed to two cultures and thrived on it. So does the tiny handful of truly middle-class Indian kids.

Putting a solid educational foundation under an underprivileged child is, unfortunately, a very expensive undertaking. But it's still true that on a strictly cost accounting basis alone good schools are cheaper than welfare rolls, jammed-up fourth rate mental hospitals, and jails. Yet white, middle-class America, which decides such things, has yet to be convinced of this.

K. W. Simons
Oglala Community School
Pine Ridge, South Dakota

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In reply:

Judging from the letters we have received from people defending their schools against the conditions described in our article, it seems we did not make it sufficiently clear that the article was not an indictment of *every* Indian school in the country (admittedly there are a handful of schools doing something worthwhile in Indian education) but of the BIA's system of *boarding* schools. Furthermore, the article was not based exclusively on Nancy Esposito's visits to Southwestern Indian schools as many have charged – but on the personal observations of persons who have visited Indian schools throughout the country, letters to the Senate subcommittee on Indian Education from persons who experienced much of what we described, and the six volumes of testimony presented to the subcommittee during the past year. An overwhelming amount of evidence indicates that the Bureau's program of educating Indian children at boarding schools is a failure. Mr. Simons would blame "white middle-class America" for the failure, but as far as the failure of Indian education is concerned, white, middle-class America doesn't even know it's happening.

Daniel Henninger & Nancy Esposito

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Give them this day their daily bread.

Think of the last time that *you* were hungry. Really hungry. Was it because dinner was late? Or because you missed a lunch?

Can you imagine what it is to go through life never knowing what it is like *not* to be hungry? Subsisting day after day on a few greens around noon... and some pinto beans in the evening? Nothing more. Nothing different. And not even enough of that.

It sounds incredible. And it is incredible. Because it's taking place *right now... in the midst of the good* life so many of us are now living in America.

But walk down the back roads of most any Mississippi Delta town and you'll see tenant farmers, field hands, seasonal workers ... and their children ... with stomachs bloated, eyes dulled, feet swollen, arms and legs matchstick thin.

The irony is that they aren't starving at a rate dramatic enough to arouse the indignation of the nation and the world. Otherwise something would have already been done.

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The NAACP Special Contribution Fund has begun a nationwide drive to help thousands survive. If you can do with one less "dinner out" this month, the money can mean a month's supply of meat, milk, and bread for a family of five. Just $10.00 buys up to $240.00 in food stamps.

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Thank you. And may *your* next meal be a little more enjoyable.

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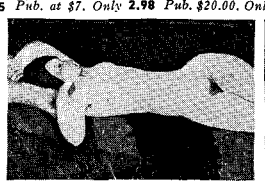

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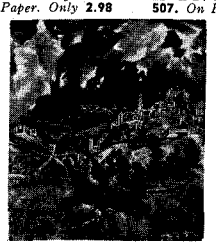

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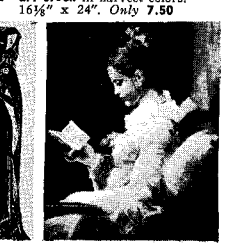

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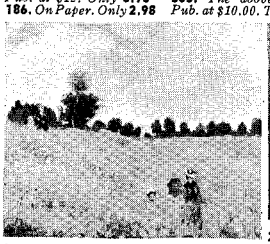

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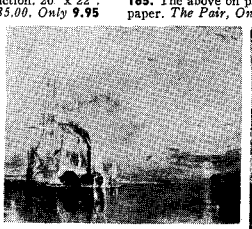

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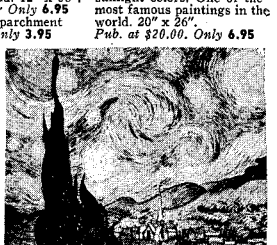

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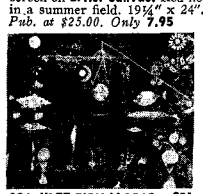

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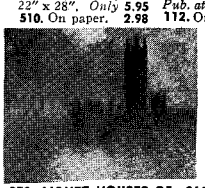

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